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Thesis

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

--The development of the
Japanese communities in California--

by

SHUKEN. YAMANOUCHI,
(A.B., Tōyō University,
in Tōkyō, Japan, 1926.)

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

(a) The early history of Japanese immigration.

(b) Report of the Immigration Commissioner in 1909.

(c) Main problems concerning the immigrant--
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The early history of Japanese immigration to the United States is not clear. From 1638 to 1868, when the present Imperial Government was organized, emigration from Japan was prohibited. It was not definitely legalized until 1885. But while emigration was still forbidden, a few Japanese sailors and students reached the American shores. As soon as the Meiji Restoration was completed, a Dutch officer, who had been teaching military arts in a Japanese feudal clan, got together farmers to send them to the United States under eight years' contract.[1] Half of them reached California. In the "Sacramento Union" and other California papers for 1869 we read of a colony of a few score Japanese settled as prospective silk growers at Gold Hill, California, where they were received with great favor.[2] The promoter of this colony expected more to follow, but evidently this expectation was not realized because of the failure of the project. In the report of the United States Treasury Department for 1893, it was stated that between 1861 and 1870, 218 Japanese had immigrated to this country. The corresponding number reported

1. Yoichi Tōga, The Japanese Development in America, p.30.
2. H. A. Mills, The Japanese Problem in United States, p.2.

in 1880 was 148; in 1890, 2,039. This report of 2,039 Japanese residing in the United States in 1890 is evidence of the larger number of immigrants to this country following upon the legalization of emigration by Japan in 1885, and the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law in 1882.

Most of the Japanese who came directly to this country were young men. They came seeking opportunities in economic or scholastic fields. Along with these young men came a smaller number of older men who had failed in business or had found farming or wage labor in Japan unattractive. A third element came from Hawaii, where a large percentage of the Japanese were from the poorest and most ignorant class. Many of the most ambitious of these, dissatisfied with their lot as poorly paid plantation laborers, availed themselves of the opportunity to come to the mainland. From Mexico there came some that corresponded closely to the classes arriving from Hawaii, and from Canada a few like those emigrating from Japan.

The Immigration Commission presented the following table based upon the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration to show the previous occupations of the Japanese immigrants.[1]

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1. Immigration Commission Reports, Vol. 23, p. 8.

Year	Total Number	Professional	Merchants Grocers and Bankers	Farmers	Farm Laborers	Skilled Laborers	Laborers	Personal Domestic Service	Other Occupations	Without Occupations
1901	5,249	167	660	897	1,153	603	830	181	173	585
1902	14,445	222	1,211	5,212	451	1,047	1,558	173	193	4,388
1903	20,041	274	1,445	5,010	5,816	922	572	132	588	5,282
1904	14,382	372	1,189	121	6,775	641	1,474	317	248	3,244
1905	11,021	280	791	380	5,883	358	743	207	167	2,212
1906	14,243	256	649	522	8,435	329	835	195	567	2,446
1907	30,824	610	783	817	20,636	546	1,334	166	2,174	3,855
1908	16,418	378	687	378	6,766	457	1,144	284	1,742	4,582
1909	3,275	139	108	15	628	85	200	67	268	1,765
Total	129,908	2,699	7,523	13,352	56,543	4,988	8,690	1,722	6,129	28,359
Percentage	100	2.1	5.8	10.3	43.5	3.8	6.7	1.3	4.7	21.8

In the report of the Commission this table is commented upon as follows:

> "Thus, according to these data, 10.3% of the immigrants for the nine years had been farmers in Japan, while 43.5% had been farm laborers most of whom were youths or young men working on their fathers' farms without wages, for farm laborers working regularly for wages have been relatively few. Moreover, 21.8%, including women and children, had not been gainfully occupied. A large percentage of these were the wives and small children of farmers and farm laborers and should be added to the percentages given above in order to obtain an estimate of the relative number of the farming class emigrating from Japan. As opposed to the 53.8% who had been gainfully employed in agricultural pursuits, 2.1 per cent were professional men (physicians, teachers, preachers, actors, etc), 5.8% were merchants, grocers, and bankers, 3.8% skilled laborers in a great variety of trades, 6.7% common laborers, 1.3% had been occupied in the various branches of domestic and personal service, and 4.7% in other occupations of which fishing was no doubt one of the more important. Thus, the majority of the Japanese immigrants have been drawn from the rural sections of the country."

The Immigration Commission also found that almost twenty-three in each hundred (22.6%) had come to the United States when under twenty years of age, and that more than one-half (53.2%) had come when under twenty-five. On the other hand, only about twenty-five in each hundred (24.7%) were thirty or upward, and less than five in each hundred (4.2%) forty or over.[1]

The reason for Japanese immigration to the United States should be considered in close connection with the facts just presented. It is obvious that Japanese have not

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1. Immigration Commission Reports, Vol. 23, pp.7,8.

In the report of the Immigration this table is commented upon as follows:

"Thus, according to these data, 10.8% of the immigrants for the nine years had been farmers in Japan, while 4.7% had been farm laborers most of whom were youths or young men working on their fathers' farms without wages, for farm laborers working regularly for wages have been relatively few. Moreover, U.S. including women and children, had not been gainfully occupied. A large percentage of these were the wives and small children of farmers and farm laborers and should be added to the percentages given above in order to obtain an estimate of the relative numbers of the farming class emigrating from Japan. As opposed to the U.S. who had been gainfully employed in agricultural pursuits, 5.1 per cent were professional men (ministers, teachers, preachers, doctors, etc.), 2.6 were merchants, grocers, and bankers, 2.8% utilized laborers in a great variety of trades, 6.7% common laborers, 1.5% had been occupied in the various branches of domestic and personal service, and 4.7% in other occupations of which fishing was by about one-half the more important. Thus, the majority of the immigrants have been drawn from the rural districts of the country."

The Immigration Commission also found that almost ten-tenths in each hundred (22.6%) had come to the United States when under twenty years of age, and that more than one-half (53.8%) had come when under twenty-five. On the other hand, only about twenty-five in each hundred (24.7%) were thirty or older, and less than five in each hundred (4.3%) forty or over.[1]

The reason for decreasing immigration to the United States should be considered in close connection with the facts just presented. It is obvious that Japanese have not

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1. Immigration Commission Report, Vol. 23, p. 8.

left their home land to avoid religious or political persecution. The primary motive for emigration was for a better opportunity, not only economic and intellectual, but also for new experience. Economic opportunity in Japan has been limited as compared to that in the United States. Japan is a country with a dense and rapidly increasing population, with limited natural resources and a scarcity of capital. Almost three-fifths of the population gainfully occupied are engaged in tilling small plots of land, either as tenants paying high rents and using expensive fertilizer, or as agricultural laborers at wages very low compared to those paid unskilled labor in the United States. The more ambitious have tended strongly to leave the rural communities to seek better opportunities in the cities. In the cities, however, in spite of long working days, wages are still low. Positions, both official or industrial, are already so filled that only a very few with exceptional ability and very high education can be admitted.

In a word, lack of opportunity in Japan pushed the more ambitious to emigrate. There is an important reason why the United States has appealed to them more strongly than other parts of the world. The attraction has been psychological as well as economical. Western civilization and culture have focused the worship and admiration of all Japanese until very recently. They longed for an opportunity

to see the admired country. The strong desire for this new experience thrilled the ambitious youths of the middle class, and for the same reason the girls, in selecting their life partners, preferred emigrants to America.

These individuals, marriage groups, sometimes fragments of large families left their original milieu and settled in America, intentionally or accidentally grouping themselves into communities of various kinds scattered over the territory of an ethnically and culturally different society. The evolution of these fragments separated from their social whole presents a series of new problems, interesting not only from the practical standpoint of the relation of the immigrants to American society but also in view of their general sociological significance.

The situation is really much more complicated than most of the people who are working for Americanization consider it. It would seem a priori and it is generally assumed that the main problems concerning the immigrants can be stated in terms of individual assimilation or non-assimilation. Since the immigrant is no longer a member of the society from which he came, since he lives in the midst of American society, is connected with it by economic bonds and dependent on its institutions, the only line of evolution left to him seems to be the one leading to a gradual substitution in his consciousness of American cultural values for Japanese cultural values and of attitudes

adapted to his American environment for the attitudes brought over from the old country. This substitution seems to be essential.

But if we look at the Japanese in America not from the subjective standpoint of Japanese or American national interests but from that of an objective sociological inquiry, we find that the problem of individual assimilation is at present an entirely secondary, although important issue. The fundamental point is the formation of a new Japanese-American society out of those fragments separated from Japanese society and embedded in American society. This Japanese-American Society as a whole is slowly evolving from Japanism to Americanism, as is shown by the fact that its members, particularly those of the second generation, are continually acquiring more American attitudes and being more influenced by American civilization.

The individual does not stand isolated in the midst of a culturally different group. He is a part of a homogeneous group in contact with a civilization which influences in various degrees all of the members. The most interesting phenomenon, the central object of our investigation, is the formation of this coherent group out of originally incoherent elements, the creation of a society which in structure and prevalent attitudes is neither Japanese nor American but constitutes a specific new product whose raw materials have been partly drawn from Japanese traditions, partly

from American social values as the immigrant sees and interprets them. It is this special society, neither Japanese, nor American, that constitutes the social milieu into which the immigrant who came from Japan became incorporated and to whose standards and institutions he must adapt himself.

The individual immigrant brings with him to this country his old traditions and attitudes, but of course not the social organization of the old country. He has a tendency to associate with people coming from the same milieu, and as soon as a group of them is agglomerated the old institutions begin spontaneously to reappear. But it is clear that they cannot be revived here with their full original content and significance, because their original social values have been modified in their new environment, and the groups which the immigrants form in America are less coherent than the communities in Japan. Around a nucleus of relatively permanent settlers, usually of quite recent origin, there is a shifting mass continually recruited from outsiders who either leave after a short period or at least remain for several years ready to leave at short notice. Besides, the Japanese community in America depends upon fundamentally the outside world for its economic subsistence; draws its income from work in American farms and factories, and consumes American products.

For all these reasons the Japanese-American social structure stands far behind that of any old national society

which is permanently settled in a given limited territory that it owns economically and politically; and whose construction is based on a firm foundation of innumerable intricate social bonds inherited from the past.

This imperfect social structure manifests itself most clearly in the fact that the combined influence of old and new institutions cannot prevent individual disorganization from assuming unusual proportions. Alcoholism, sexual demoralization and the whole scale of delinquencies are represented among the Japanese in America in a much larger measure than among the population of Japan from which the immigrants are recruited.

Therefore, my study will be concentrated on these two most important aspects of the life of Japanese immigrants in this country; the formation of the Japanese-American society; and the individual disorganization resulting from the imperfect coherence of this society, including the problems of the second generation born in this milieu.

From the Meiji Restoration of 1868 to the unexpected victory of the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, Japan struggled desperately in the midst of the hungry western wolves to make her own way in the new world. The Restoration of Meiji was done by the adventurous young Samurais of rather low rank, and it had been completed by these radicals by the time of the Russo-Japanese War. As a result, the system of Western institutions had been employed and legalized without being

examined by the Japanese people as a whole. If an institution is a product of folkways and mores grown out of a long struggle for better existence, the sudden change of the Japanese institutions naturally required a long period of adjustment to the existing folkways and mores among the common people at that time. A long uninterrupted period of three hundred and thirty years from 1638 to 1868 under the Tokugawa regime was not short to form hard social strata, dreadful customs and traditions, which were in fact changed very little by the touch of western civilization during the early period of the Meiji era.

Therefore, an individual emigrant of an early period was viewed by the social group to which he belonged as an undesirable and even socially abnormal phenomenon. Except for the relatively rare cases in which a group desires to rid itself of an individual considered socially harmful, no group likes to lose members. And even if the emigrant intends to return, still for the period of his absence he withdraws from the sphere of control of his group, and cannot contribute to the group. Finally, leaving the community is always interpreted as a sign of dissatisfaction with the existing conditions and the remaining members are apt to condemn the emigrant whether they share his dissatisfaction or not, in the first case because he does not stay with them to bear the common burden and help improve the situation or, in the second case because his dissatisfaction where others are satisfied is more or less an act of revolt.

These usual reasons for condemning emigration went on without any reflection among the peasant primary communities which were strongly coherent and conservative, moreover, these reasons were justified by the quality of the immigrant himself who could not make his own way in that community: success or failure of a member of a primary group must be judged by his deeds in his community and according to the standard of social worth of that community, or at least in some relation to it. Therefore, an emigrant was looked upon with suspicion and sometimes with scorn. Moreover, the period between the Restoration and the Russo-Japanese War was the period of national reconstruction, and chances were fairly open to every ambitious man. Under these circumstances, the educated able persons of the middle and upper classes could find some positions according to their ability, and even among the large mass of the peasant and lower classes, the chances were fairly open to the educated, socialized and productive persons. These facts show that only a small minority of the Japanese immigrants who came to this country during the early period represented any of the higher quality of Japanese community, and we may judge that most of them were below the normal moral or intellectual level of their respective groups in Japan. According to the Report of the Immigration Commission above quoted, 43.5% of the total of the immigrants from 1901 to 1909 had been farm laborers in Japan, and another 10.3% described as farmers must have been very small farmers or tenants.

The conclusion is that the immigrants of the early period were composed of a large percentage of peasants and of the lower classes, and very few educated middle or upper classes. This fact is very important for the study of the Japanese community in America in its political, ethical, and social aspects.

In more recent time, however, this social attitude toward emigrants suffered a gradual change for several reasons. (1) The tremendous increase of population surpassed the development of industry, and economic opportunity in America was uncomparably greater than in Japan. (2) The emigrants brought back to their old community a great success which stimulated the educated middle class and other productive people. (3) The official refusal of edmission to "Japanese and Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom," by a presidential order of 1907 gave a chance to the ambitious youths of middle class in Japan to come here. (4) Finally, the intellectual development in Japan since the Restoration welcomed those who had acquired education in western countries.

With these reasons, the social attitude toward emigration, which had been the most efficient obstacle to the emigration of the higher classes and of the most productive and developed part of the lower classes was weakened.

It is interesting to note that fact that the isolation of many peasant communities from cultural influences, their

lack of contact with economic centers which allowed the old system to remain in full power until quite recent times, had a similar restraining effect on the emigration, while the other parts were stimulated to send the surplus people to America, Mexico, and Brazil for a better opportunity. The more the emigrants from a region settled in America, the more people were stimulated to transoceanic emigration from the same region. Moreover, when many members of a community are settled in America and keep contact with their home, America appears almost as an extension of the community. The fact that in this country they are scattered over many places and no longer constitute a closed group does not seem to play a very important part in the consciousness of the people at home, particularly since there is a tendency among immigrants from the same community to congregate as far as conditions permit. From descriptions and reports of returning emigrants, America becomes familiar to the community in Japan. Some social control can be still exercised overseas through relatives, friends and acquaintances, when a member goes, although he may travel alone, he goes at the invitation of another member and goes to him. These relations explain the fact that nearly half of the total Japanese in Southern California are from only two districts out of fifty of nearly the same size.

It is cautious to say that the economic conditions are only a part of a given social situation: they influence human behavior together with, or combined complexly with many other

factors. Emigration is an individual event as well as social. Therefore, whether a low economic status which the individual has in his own country as compared with the status which he may reach in another country will induce him to emigrate or not depends first of all on his predisposition. If his prevalent attitude is the desire for economic advance, he will go unless interfered with by other influences; if it is the fear of the unknown, he will not go unless other influences combine with economic influences.

CHAPTER II. HISTORICAL REVIEW OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION IN CALIFORNIA.

(a) Increase of the Japanese immigrants.

(b) The origin of Anti-Japanese acts.

(c) The exclusive law in 1908.

(d) Progress in agricultural line.

(e) Alien land law in 1913 and 1920.

(f) Prohibition of the "picture-bride" system.

(g) Specialization of their agricultural production.

(h) Gentlemen's agreement in 1924.

CHAPTER II

Historical Review of Japanese Immigration in California

Because Japan defeated one of the greatest powers of Europe in 1905, there arose a suspicion in America that she might try now to measure her strength against the United States. Japan became a problem for American diplomacy, and the United States was forced to reconsider its foreign policy in relation to the Japanese nation.

First among these problems there was that of Japanese immigration to this country. Surplus population and lack of opportunity in Japan made emigration to the United States cumulative, because of the widespread advertising of the advantages to be had by emigrating to this country. The emigration companies were organized, through which the poor laborers received passports in Japan, while on this side contractors, hotels, and boarding houses made the way easy and readily secured employment for those who came. However, this tendency of emigration was discouraged by the Japanese government previous to 1907, because of the loss of men in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904--1905. This voluntary movement of Japan for herself could not stop the large mass of Japanese immigrants to the continent who did not come from Japan but from Hawaii, where there were 61,111

Japanese immigrants in a total population of 154,001 in 1900.[1] Many of them who became dissatisfied with the plantation conditions began to come to the continent. The report of the Immigration Commission puts it:

> "With the strong demand for labor prevailing in the West the Japanese contrators on the coast, and especially those doing business in San Francisco and Seattle, induced many to come to the United States. Some of these contrators were for a time regularly represented by agents sent to Honolulu, recourse was made to advertising in the Japanese papers published there, cheap rates were secured, and in some instances assistance was given in other ways to those desiring to reach the mainland."[2]

The movement from Hawaii was accompanied by a considerable unrecorded immigration of Japanese across the Canadian and Mexican boundaries. According to the study by H. A. Mills, the numbers thus coming from Canada would appear not to have been large, while that coming across the Mexican boundary was sufficient to give rise to discussion by Inspector Braun, who was detailed in 1905 and 1907 by the Bureau of Immigration to investigate the influx of immigrants of different races from or through Mexico. The Immigration Commission report:

> "With reference to the Japanese he reported that within tract laborers, being sent out by the various emigration companies, but that most of them had left their employment, and that the entire number in the Republic at that time (June

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1. H. A. Mills, The Japanese Problem in the United States, p. 9.

2. Immigration Commission Reports, Vol. 23, p. 14.

> 1909) was only about 1,000. Inasmuch as they had not left the country through the ports, it was concluded that they had immigrated into the United States lawfully previous to the issuance of the president's order of March 14, 1909, and ever since surreptitiously."[1]

It is quite doubtful how Mr. Braun got these total numbers of 10,000 and 1,000. The former might be received from the records of the Mexican ports, but the latter was absolutely impossible in such a state of national condition as old as 1907. However inaccurate the number might be, it is quite true that Mexico was a stepping stone for many Japanese to this country, as well as for Chinese by 1907.

These movements of the Japanese immigrants made an impression upon the American people as if Japan was dumping her laborers into the garden spot of California. They argued themselves that the people of California could not show enough tolerance of an alien race to adjust human relationships and let them in.

The first voice of anti-Japanese agitation was expressed by a mass meeting of the Pacific Laborers League, held May 7, 1900 at San Francisco. In that meeting, according to the records of the "American Japanese" paper, Mayor Feilan, and Professor Ross of Stanford University made anti-Japanese speeches, and they passed a resolution on that matter in the name of the citizens of San Francisco.

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1. Immigration Commission Report, Vol. 23, p. 15.

It was natural, of course, that the agitation was favored by the American laborers in California in fear of future competition. They were afraid they could not compete with the cheap Japanese laborers. Although the opposition to the Japanese immigrants started as early as 1900, it was not until the victory in the Russo-Japanese war that the America newspaper began to manifest hostility. The "San Francisco Chronicle" printed the following February 3, 1905:

> "The United States has had one race problem for two hundred years and no solution is achieved yet. California which has demanded and secured the exclusion of the Chinese now demands the exclusion of the Japanese by our self-protective patriotism."

Since then the problem, which had been merely economic or based upon racial prejudice has been political.

The first anti-Japanese incident to attract attention throughout the United States and Japan was the action of the San Francisco School Board October 1, 1906, requiring all Japanese pupils to attend a separate oriental school where the Chinese children were segregated already.

Every southern city had segregated its colored people since the Civil War. But this order of the San Francisco School Board produced an outburst of indignation in Japan, and the Japanese government protested against this discrimination on the ground that it violated the treaty. The "school question" became an international issue, was extraordinarily exaggerated. As Secretary Metcalf's report in answer to

President Roosevelt's letter shows, the total number of Japanese children in the twenty-three schools of San Francisco at that time was only ninety-three, of whom nine were sixteen years old, twelve were seventeen, six were eighteen, four were nineteen, and two were twenty. The remainder were all under sixteen years of age. President Roosevelt called Mr. Schmidt, mayor of San Francisco and leader of the Labor party, to Washington, and made an investigation. The "Chronicle" said, in effect, January 5, 1907 that if the federal government threatened the people of California with guns, violating the constitution, blood would be their answer.

Secretary Elihu Root called Ambassador Wright in Tokyo, October 1906 saying, "The United States will not for a moment entertain an idea of any treatment of the Japanese people other than that accorded to the people of the most friendly European nations."[1]

Then President Roosevelt sent his Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Metcalf, to California to look into the situation. His report agreed with that above quoted. President Roosevelt, thereupon, said in his message of December 1906: "To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity."[2]

The Exclusion League opposed a negotiated settlement, and demanded a stringent exclusion act. President Roosevelt

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1. Blakeslee's, p. 242.
2. Blakeslee's, p. 243.

soon discovered that the root of the evil was Japanese Immigration.[1] However, the American Japanese Treaty of 1894 had specifically provided that,

> "The citizens of each of the two high contracting parties shall have the full liberty to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the territories of the other contracting party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection of person and property."

It would seem as though a treaty should override a state law, but the Californians were not technically violating the Treaty. The United States Government could not interfere in a matter of exclusive state concern such as the administration of its school laws.

Notwithstanding the contentiousness of the Californians and the strong desire of Japan to be treated like a European nation, President Roosevelt worked out a settlement by means of the Gentlemen's Agreement, and the California Legislature revoked the order for the segregation of school children. By force of circumstances the Japanese government agreed to restrict the issuing of passports to laborers who wished to emigrate and an immigration bill, then in conference committee, was changed to authorize the President to suspend the immigration of Japanese and Korean laborers from the insular possession and from Canada and Mexico. This authority was employed by the President in his famous order of March 14, 1907, refusing admission to the continental

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1. Blakeslee's, p. 243.

United States to "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii and come therefrom," with the exception of those who had already acquired a residence here, or the parents, minor children and wives of the Japanese people living in this country.[1]

The aim of this negotiated understanding was to put a stop to the increase of the Japanese population in the United States without need of statutory exclusion, and thus to respect the national standing and feeling of Japan. The Gentlemen's Agreement was made in June, 1908, and it lasted until July 1, 1924.

According to the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, the total Japanese population of California and neighboring states was as follows in 1908:

States	Total	Adults		Children	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
California	60,710	52,633	5,042	1,533	1,502
Washington	15,901	14,474	1,040	211	178
Utah	2,409	2,311	51	26	21
Colorado	6,457	6,305	101	20	21
Arizona	271	443	16	6	6
Texas	103	54	9	6	6

The various measures taken to control immigration to the continental United States have sharply set off the immigration of the last six years from that period ending with

1. Mills, op. cit., p. 15.

United States to Canadian or Indian laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Canada, Canada, or Hawaii and come thereafter, with the exception of those who had already acquired a residence here, or the parents, minor children and wives of the American people living in this country.[1]

The aim of this repatriation undertaking was to put a stop to the increase of the Japanese population in the United States without need of statutory exclusion, and thus to respect the mutual standing and feeling of Japan. The Gentlemen's Agreement was made in 1908, and it lasted until July 1, 1924.

According to the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, the total Japanese population of California and neighboring states was as follows in 1920:

States	Total	Adults		Children	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
California	83,710	32,205	8,048	3,455	1,705
Washington	24,201	13,474	1,040	211	170
Utah	5,603	3,312	83	25	21
Colorado	5,407	3,306	101	40	24
Arizona	275	224	12	6	8
Idaho	126	54	9	2	

The racial measures taken to restrict immigration to the continental United States have shortly set off the immigration of the last six years from that people and has

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1. Miller, op. cit., p. 12.

1907. The figures presented in the reports of the Commission General of Immigration are as follows:[1]

Year Ending June 30	Number	Year Ending June 30	Number
1893	1,380	1904	7,771
1894	1,931	1905	4,319
1895	1,150	1906	5,178
1896	1,110	1907	9,948
1897	1,526	1908	7,250
1898	2,230	1909	1,593
1899	3,395	1910	1,552
1900	12,626		
1901	4,908		
1902	5,325		
1903	6,990		

Although the Agreement became effective as above quoted, this immigration problem became gradually complicated.

The people of Asiatic countries are not eligible to citizenship by the naturalization law of the United States.

The discontented Exclusion League and the California Legislature wished for action taken. In the California Legislature in 1909, there were introduced some nineteen anti-Japanese bills. These were finally dropped, however, at the request of President Roosevelt, but the Legislature did pass a resolution advocating the extension of the Chinese exclusion laws to the Japanese. These measures, however, were not favored by landowners. The California State Legislature of 1909 passed a resolution to investigate the situation of the Japanese in California and 10,000 dollars were voted for the investigation under Mr. MacKenzie, the California Commissioner of Labor. He worked with eight

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1. Immigration Commission Reports, Vol. 23, p. 5.

committees appointed for the purpose, and sent questionnaires to one hundred white landowners. The following result was reported to the 1910 Legislature:

1. Those who preferred Japanese	52
2. Those impartial to Japanese, Whites, and Chinese	18
3. Those who considered Japanese inferior	10
4. No answer	20

Commissioner MacKenzie's opinion was as follows:

> "It is not mere opinion, based on consensus of observation, nor theory predicated on an analysis of conditions and requirements, but the positive expression of a majority of the growers of fruits and such products as are affected by the demand, that this labor must continue to be drawn from sources beyond the United States. The competency of both Chinese and Japanese to meet all the requirements of these industries of the orchard, the vineyard, and the field is unquestioned and unquestionable."[1]

This summary and opinion interpreted to be favorable to a further immigration of Asiatic laborers called forth very general protest and it was for this reason that the report was not published when a supplementary appropriation might have been made by the Legislature for that purpose. The report was buried and the State Senate expressed its disapprobation of the Commissioner's findings in a resolution presented by the present Commissioner General of Immigration and passed without a dissenting vote being recorded. The resolution reads:

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1. H. A. Mills, op. cit., p. 126.

committees appointed for the purpose, and sent questionnaires to one hundred male Japanese. The following result was reported to the 1918 legislature:

1. Those who preferred Japanese 0%

2. Those imported to Japanese, Koreans and Chinese 12

3. Those who combined Japanese interest 70

4. No answer 20

Commissioner Thompson's opinion was as follows:

"It is not mere opinion, based on impressions of observation, nor theory predicated on an analysis of conditions and requirements, but the positive expression of a majority of the farmers of Italia and some prominent as are affected by the amendment, that this land cannot continue to be driven from a country to which the United States. The existence of both Chinese and Japanese in each all the requirements of these industries of the country, the climate, and the vitality is unsentimental and unquestionable."

This contrary and opinion interpreted to be favorable to a further immigration of Italian laborers called forth very earnest protest and it was for this reason that the report was not published when a supplementary appropriation might have been made by the legislature for that purpose. The report was buried and the State Senate expressed its disapprobation of the Commissioner's findings in a resolution presented by the present Commissioner General of Immigration and passed without a dissenting vote being recorded. The resolution reads:

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1. H. A. Millis, op. cit., p. 150.

> "Whereas, the State Labor Commissioner has, in his report concerning Japanese laborers, expressed his opinion of the necessity for such laborers in this State, and thus without authority misrepresented the wishes of the people of this Commonwealth, therefore, be it resolved, that the opinion of such Labor Commissioner is hereby disapproved by this Senate."[1]

In 1911, after Roosevelt had left the presidency, the drive against the Japanese people was renewed in California and several anti-Japanese bills were introduced again.

But the Taft Administration took the same view of the Japanese problem as President Roosevelt and, accordingly, requested that no action should be taken on these bills, in view of the fact that a new treaty with Japan was being negotiated.[2]

The treaty of 1911 was made to replace that of 1894 which naturally expired in 1912, and which had recognized the rights of either country to enact laws in regard to the immigration of laborers. The new treaty omitted all references to general immigration. But when the treaty was signed the Japanese Ambassador gave a vote to the Secretary of State which pledged the United States to enforce the Gentlemen's Agreement. To meet any possible difficulty under the situation, the treaty was made terminable upon a month's notice at any time by either government.

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1. California Senate Journal, 1910, p. 39
   H. A. Mills, op. cit., p. 127.

2. Blakeslee, p. 244.

"A difference of opinion regarding this treaty developed between Taft and Roosevelt, which the latter explained in his autobiography. On one fundamental point they were agreed: namely, that the exclusion of Japanese laborers should be maintained if possible by method which would not antagonize Japan. Roosevelt, Taft, and Knox, however, were all opposed to Congressional action except as a last resort."[1]

During these political agitations the Japanese had made rapid progress in agriculture. According to the figures reported in the Japanese-American Year Book for 1913, their total acreage of farming in California had increased to five times as much as that of 1904.

Year	Acres Owned	Acres Leased	Total
1904	2,442.0	54,831.0	57,273.0
1909	16,449.5	137,233.5	153,683.0
1913	26,707.0	255,980.0	281,687.0

The reasons for their success were:

(1) Conditions in California are more favorable than in any other state to the intensive cultivation to which they are accustomed. (Little rain and dry air kills the weed. Warm climate and good irrigation produces a good crop all year round in some parts. Good transport facilities bring the markets within reach.)

(2) Most of the Japanese immigrants came from the farmer class.

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1. Ibid., p. 245.

(3) The landowners have been more dependent upon Asiatics for needed labor.

(4) The Japanese being ambitious find the wage relation distasteful and wish to get the full product of their labor.

(5) The independent farmers, by owning or leasing land, get a more distinct social recognition in their communities than farm hands.

(6) They do not like to work in an American family or a shop which are quite different in language, customs, etiquette and culture and, first of all they cannot bear to be looked down upon by the whites in such an unaccustomed milieu.

These things being true, it is only a question of time and opportunity until they establish their independence of the wage relation. The opportunity has more frequently come to them because of the place they have occupied in the farm labor supply, because of the ease and convenience with which they could be provided with the necessary shelter, and because of the fact that they have paid the highest rent for the land.

The two facts that the Japanese farmers works at lower wages, and bid higher rents have now produced a great antagonism among the white farmers in the country. This new movement in the country, coupled with the antagonism of white laborers in the cities, complicated the political situation.

In 1913, in Wilson's administration, anti-Japanese bills were introduced: One of them proposed to permit only

(3) The landowners hate them more expensive than labelies for normal labor.

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(6) They do not like to work in an American family or a shop which are quite different in language, customs, with quite not culture and, first of all they cannot bear to be looked down upon by the whites in such an unconscious manner.

These things being true, it is only a question of time and opportunity until they establish their independence of the wage relation. The opportunity has more frequently come to them because of the place they are occupied in the farm labor supply, because of the wage and conditions with which they could be provided with the necessary capital, and because of the fact that they have paid the highest rent for the land.

The two facts that the Japanese farmers work at lower wages, and did higher rents have now produced a great antagonism among the white farmers in the country. This was movement in the country, coupled with the antagonism of white laborers in the cities, complicated the political situation.

In 1919, the Gillson's administration, anti-Japanese bills were introduced; One of them proposed to permit only

aliens "eligible" to citizenship to own land, in order to bar the Japanese.

The Alien Land Law in 1913 was for the purpose of forbidding the purchase or leasing of lands over three years by Aliens not eligible to citizenship, thus trying to prevent the Japanese from acquiring any land for the purpose of farming, in which they are most proficient.

President Wilson telegraphed to California saying: "Invidious discrimination will inevitably draw in question the treaty obligation of the government of the United States. I register my very earnest and respectful protest against discrimination in this case."[1] He sent to California the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan. At that time the California Legislature was under the control of the Republican Party, led by Governor Johnson, famous exclusionist.

H. A. Mills reports the public opinion as to the proposed bills as follows:

> "Though it grew out of an agitation initiated by labor unions, interest in this proposed legislation became intensive as it was discussed. Most of its support came from the agricultural districts. A great majority of the newspapers favored it. A petition signed by more than seventy persons (though not all of them were residents of the community) was presented from Florin urging that legislation should be enacted before the close of the session. Protests were made by the directors of the Panama-Pacific Exposition Company (several of whom had no further wish than that the matter lay over another session),

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1. Ibid., p. 247.

> the Delta Association of California, representing large landed interests in the Delta county, a group of six persons of Florin, the Peace Committee, the Methodist preachers, and other organizations of clergymen in their meetings, and a standing committee of Oriental workers. The Los Angeles Graphic, the Los Angeles Times, the San Francisco Chronicle, the San Francisco Post, the Pasadena News, the Fresno Republican, and the California Christian Advocate mere prominent among the comparatively few newspapers that opposed the proposed legislation."

The bill was passed by the Senate by a vote of 35 to 2, and the Assembly by a vote of 72 to 3.

After the passage of the Alien Land Law a reactional sympathy with the Japanese prevailed for a few years, during which Japan went into the world War with the same objective as the United States and not a few Japanese in this country volunteered in the United States Army.

Blakeslee describes the general feeling of that time as follows: "The feeling of the general Californians had been on a lever: A little bit of antagonism could pass an anti-Japanese law, and a little bit of sympathy could pass a favorable law. This was what the exclusionists were afraid of. They tried their best to keep the fire of antagonism alive." One of the claims of opposition of the exclusionists was the so-called "picture-bride." A picture-bride was not in fact a peculiar way of marriage in Japan, where caste, heredity, and culture of both bride and bridegroom were the most important criteria for selection of the party. According to the Japanese family system a

wife belongs not only to her husband, but also to the family she joins. Therefore, a man has to get the advice and consent of his parents before he marries. According to Japanese customs, there is little free association between man and woman. Therefore, marriage by mutual understanding and love is not frequent. A Japanese marriage is not a tomb of love, but a cradle of love.

With such a custom, the immigrants in California asked their parents and relatives to select wives for them. If the relatives could choose a woman in their community or in a neighboring village whom they knew, they would send the picture of the woman selected. If the man liked her, she would be called to this country, and would marry him as soon as she landed. This is the truth of the "picture-bride."

This sort of marriage is, of course, dangerous, and nobody would favor it. The result, however, is much better than in Japan if we may judge from the figure of divorce cases. In 1920, there were about 30,000 Japanese in Southern California out of the total of 71,952 Japanese in that State, according to the United States Census of 1920. The Japanese Consulate at Los Angeles received reports of only six divorce cases from 30,000 people; that is 0.2 per 1,000, (Japanese Consulate Report) while the percentage in Japan was 0.95 out of 1,000. (The Jiji Almanac, 1930). The percentage of divorce cases in the United States in 1916 was 1.13 and in 1922, 1.35 out of every 1,000. (The World Almanac, 1928).

In spite of the fact, the exclusionists began to attack this "picture-bride" system, as soon as they found that a proposition was going to be moved in the California State Legislature of 1919 that would permit the Japanese a long term lease because "The Alien Land Law is unjust, impolitic and, with a restricted immigration, unnecessary."[1]

Fearing the further agitation by the exclusionists, Mr. Oto, the General Consul at San Francisco advocated stopping the picture-bride system. Soon afterward the Central Japanese Association of San Francisco decided to persuade the members not to marry by the picture-bride system, and the Japanese newspapers also favored the consul's stand. These voluntary movements made the Japanese Government prohibit the picture-bride after March 1920. According to the record of the Immigration Offices of San Francisco and Seattle, about 17,000 picture-brides came to this country between 1912 and 1920. (Compiled by Japanese Association.)

However, this voluntary action of the Japanese Government did not satisfy the exclusionists. "They were not afraid of the menace of Japanese ownership in California, but of the future. The intense interest aroused in the whole proposal was based upon this imaginative picture of what some day might happen."[2] This fear of the future was the psychological basis of the anti-Japanese public

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1. H. A. Mills, op. cit., p. 226.

2. Ibid., p. 216.

In spite of the fact, the exclusionists began to attack this "picture-bride" system, as soon as they found that a proposition was going to be moved in the California State Legislature of 1913 that would permit the immigration a few years longer before the Asian land law is enacted, complete and, with a restricted immigration, unnecessary.[1]

Starting the October agitation by the exclusionists, Mr. Ono, the General Consul at San Francisco advocated stopping the picture-bride system. Soon afterward the General Association of San Francisco decided to extension too measures not to marry by the picture-bride system, but the Japanese Immigrants didn't favored the admission system. These voluntary movements made the Japanese Government cancelled the picture-bride after June 1920. According to the record of the Imperial Japanese Consulate of San Francisco and Seattle, about 27,000 picture-brides came to this country between 1913 and 1920. (Compiled by Japanese Consulate.)

However, this voluntary action of the Japanese Government did not satisfy the exclusionists. "They were not afraid of the menace of Japanese commerce in California, but of the future. The intense interest crowned in the whole proposal was based upon this imaginative picture of what some day might happen."[2] This fear of the future was the psychological basis of the anti-Japanese public

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1. M. A. Mazie, op. cit., p. 220.

2. Ibid., p. 216.

opinion, which the exclusionists had created. For that purpose the Asiatic Exclusion League published many statements. A sentence is quoted here from a bulletin published by the League. The statement to which reference is made affirmed that the Japanese owned and controlled fertile land in California equal to a strip five miles wide, the entire length of the state, and that "ten years from now, at the present rate of increase, the Japanese will be in absolute possession of the agricultural resources of the State of California and the white farmer will be in the same class with the woolly rhinoceros." Such mendacious propaganda often controls society as effectively as the truth when the public is ignorant of the problem. The public could not distinguish truthful from mendacious propaganda. The exclusionists had every means, while the Japanese had nothing. Washington, D. C. was not a good place to create public opinion in favor of the Japanese. It was only a body of employers, landowners, and religious people who could understand the harmlessness and good-natured temperament of the Japanese.

The politicians took advantage of this condition, and it became an annual program for every political season to bring out this anti-Japanese question which was, in fact, a sensation in California.

The World War ended, and the United States people found Japan uplifted very high among the great powers after the war. When Wilson came back from Paris with the peace treaty for

ratification, they found in it an unpardonable mistake in the covenants, the Shantung question. There again arose a cry against the "yellow peril."

The exclusionists took up this chance, and the anti-Japanese Initiative Land bills were placed upon the ballot for the November election, 1920, the most important proposal being one which would deprive aliens ineligible to citizenship of the right to lease agricultural land.

By that time the Japanese population in California had increased from 41,356 in 1910 to 71,952 in 1920, according to the United States Census. The Japanese agricultural association gives us the figure of the total acreage increase in California during the seven years from 1913 to 1921. It was 281,687 acres in 1913, while in 1921, it was 731,490 acres owned or leased by the Japanese. They struggled magnificently. For instance, the two famous Japanese towns in California lie in what is practically desert country, for it was only in the desert that the Japanese could afford to settle (or were allowed to) without the white's jealousy. California is a nice fragrant place, but not all of the Golden State is beautiful. Though the center of California, between the Sierra Madre mountains, many men have fought the sand, the heat, and the lack of water, and many have vanished. The survivors have cut the flat floor of the desert with their automobile roads and their irrigation ditches, but they have not thereby made it less ugly nor have they

completely conquered it.

Here are two fruit towns of the desert, Florin and Livingstone. The Japanese built these two colonies out of a desert.

They struggled in the Delta and Imperial Valley, far below sea level which makes all the year round living difficult for a native American. However, their success in these deserts is owing to the sacrifice of hundreds of human lives and to Japanese ingenuity, otherwise the tracts would have lain idle forever. Couchra Valley was so hot in summer, so cold in winter, that no white could live. When the Japanese people came in, it became a prosperous and very pious Christian community.

Credit is surely due to them for these achievements, yet this proved initiative and perseverance in hardship only became a boomerang in the hands of the aggressive exclusionists.

In this way, the well known skill of the Japanese farmers in the State gave them the control of certain agricultural products. The following table quoted from the report of the Japanese Agricultural Association shows the relative importance of the Japanese production to the total agricultural production in California in 1921.

Acreage of Japanese Farm and Orchard in California. (Figures compiled March 1, 1921 by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California.)

Products	Acreage by Japanese	Total Acreage by all	Percentage of Japanese to total Acreage	Value of Products by Japanese
Berries	5,100	6,700	91.0%	$3,660,000
Onions	9,500	11,700	81.2	1,045,000
Asparagus	10,300	15,900	65.4	1,854,000
Green Vegetables	44,500	75,400	58.8	10,235,000
Celery	3,000	5.630	53.3	660,000
Sugar Beets	51,300	123,500	41.5	4,617,000
Cantaloups	12,000	28,500	40.0	2,400,000
Tomatoes	7,500	18,860	39.0	525,000
Nursery & Seeds	15,200	41,600	36.5	2,280,000
Rice	37,830	162,000	23.3	728,000
Potatoes	18,500	95,000	19.5	3,239,000
Grapes	56,000	360,000	15.6	16,800,000
Beans	40,000	285,000	14.0	480,000
Hops	1,260	12,000	10.5	772,380
Corn	8,000	90,000	8.8	320,000
Fruits & Nuts	47,500	735,000	6.5	5,939,500
Cotton	13,000	298,000	4.3	637,000
Hay,Grain, etc.	350,000	4,250,000	0.1	2,025,000

This table shows the fields specilized by Japanese farmers. They have taken up the kinds of farming shunned by white farmers such as berry, celery, and asparagus culture, which require a skill in cultivation and a stooping posture on the part of the workers. The Japanese, being comparatively short in stature, are particularly adapted to such farming. The percentage of Japanese acreage is very small in such farming as hay, corn, fruit and nut culture which does not require hard and skilful manual labor. In such fields American farmers are predominant. The table shows that the Japanese farmers do not compete with the American farmers in the small fields. The Japanese simply filled up the gap created by the unwillingness of the other farmers to engage themselves in certain kinds of farming.

Products	Average Yield per Acre in Japanese Farmers	Total Acreage in All Farms	Percentage of Japanese in Total Acreage	Value of Crop in Dollars
Berries	6,180	6,760	91.4	26,000,000
Onions	9,320	13,900	67.0	7,000,000
Asparagus	10,800	32,800	33.4	1,000,000
Green Vegetables	14,800	92,100	16.0	7,000,000
Celery	7,100	3,280	64.0	340,000
Sugar Beets	23,400	122,800	47.0	4,000,000
Cucumbers	12,000	26,800	30.0	300,000
Tomatoes	7,200	12,800	30.0	820,000
Strawberry & Loganberry	12,000	43,000	24.0	2,000,000
Hops	27,800	126,000	20.0	720,000
Potatoes	12,800	94,000	11.0	2,000,000
Grapes	65,100	650,000	12.0	3,000,000
Beans	40,000	230,000	12.0	380,000
Hops	1,830	12,000	10.0	270,000
Corn	8,000	50,000	8.0	280,000
Prune & Plum	47,800	750,000	6.0	2,000,000
Cotton	12,000	134,000	4.0	620,000
Hay, Feed, etc.	820,000	4,240,000	0.3	2,000,000

This table shows the fields specialized by Japanese farmers. They have taken on the kinds of farming abandoned by white farmers such as berry, celery, and asparagus culture, which require a skill in cultivating and a stooping posture on the part of the workers. The Japanese, being comparatively short in stature, are particularly adapted to such farming. The percentage of Japanese farmers is very small in each farming as hay, corn, fruit and nut crops which does not require hard and skillful manual labor. In such fields American farmers are predominant. The table shows that the Japanese farmers do not compete with the American farmers in the small farms. The Japanese simply filled up the gap created by the unwillingness of the other farmers to engage temporarily in certain kinds of farming.

The great profit and prosperity in agriculture during the war period was the main reason of this advancement in the increase of total acreage. However, this condition was misrepresented by the exclusionists. During the campaign a vigorous propaganda was carried on including moving picture plays to arouse bitter racial feelings against all Japanese and false, inimical statements were circulated all over the the States.

Both the Government of the United States and that of Japan tried unsuccessfully to stem the tide of feeling in California.

Neither the concession of the Japanese Government nor strong expression of opinion by the Washington Government ("No outcome of the California movement will be acceptable to the country at large that does not accord with existing and applicable provisions of the law and what is equally important with national instinct of justice") availed with the Californians,[1] for the anti-Japanese Initiative bills were passed by a large vote, 668, 484 to 220,860.

The rationalized reasons for antipathy with Japanese were the militarism in Japan, the Shantung questions; Korean problem, Japanese army in Siberia, increase of immigrant, high birth rate and increase of total agricultural acreage in California.

Among these reasons, we see a reflection of the public opinion in America created by the War: antagonism to

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1. Blakeslee, p. 248.

The great growth and prosperity in agriculture during the war period was the main reason of this advance on the increase of total acreage. However, this position was misrepresented by the anti-Japanese. During the campaign, vigorous propaganda was carried on, including moving pictures, to arouse bitter racial feelings against all Japanese and Chinese. Initiative measures were circulated all over the States.

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Neither the conversation of the Japanese Government for giving expression of opinion by the Imperial Government ("No outcome of the California movement will be acceptable to the country at large that does not accord with existing and supplemental provisions of the law and that is equally important with national interest of treaties") availed with the Californians.[1] For the anti-Japanese Initiative which was passed by a large vote, 668, 494 to 320,860.

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Among these reasons, we see a reflection of the public opinion in America created by the War: antagonism to

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1. Blackstone, p. 520.

other races: to militarism in any country; and the idealism expressed in self-autonomy of every nation.

During the same year, 1920, however, there was going on a negotiation between the United States and Japan. Blakeslee says, "A secret but earnest agreement was made between Japan and the United States providing (1) not to give passports in future even to the wives, children, parents of the Japanese in America, and on the other hand (2) to treat the Japanese in the United States like the most favored nation with all their rights except naturalization."[1]

Shortly after the draft of this Morris-Shidehara Treaty had been submitted to the Secretary of State, Senator Hiram Johnson of California issued a public statement attacking the proposed settlement, with bitter resentment. After this the Treaty was not submitted to the Senate.

Since the war a flood of immigration rushed into this country from starving Europe, which caused many political as well as economic questions. The United States Government realized during the great war what the "melting pot" did really mean in such an international dispute, and there appeared a remarkable tendency toward nationalism and patriotism all over the country.

At the beginning of 1924, in California, half a dozen school districts segregated Japanese children; not only on legal discriminations, but also with violence and

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1. Ibid., p. 250.

other ranges; to militarism in any country; and the idealism expressed in self-autonomy of every nation.

During the same year, 1929, however, there was going on a negotiation between the United States and Japan. Ishii says, "a secret but earnest agreement was made between Japan and the United States providing (1) not to give recognition in future even to the wise, moderate, patriots of the Japanese in America, and on the other hand (2) to treat the Japanese in the United States like the most favored nation with all their rights except naturalization."[1]

Shortly after the signing of this Gentlemen's Agreement had been submitted to the Japanese, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, issued a public statement attacking the proposed settlement, with bitter resentment. Later this Treaty was not submitted to the Senate.

Then came a flood of immigration rushed into the country from Japan, which caused very serious as well as economic questions. The United States government realized during the years after what the "militarism" did really done in such as Japan-Liberal Algeria, and there appeared - reasonable temporary toward militarism and particular all over the country.

At the beginning of 1924, in California, half a dozen school district to segregated Japanese children and only on legal discriminations, but also with violence and

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1. Ibid., p. 230.

and terrorism against the Japanese immigrants. In 1921, fifty-eight Japanese laborers were forcibly deported from Turlock, California. Anti-Japanese signs were posted in many towns of the state telling, "Japs! Don't let the sun set on you here. Keep moving!" "Keep out! This is not the place for yellow dogs!" Often the Japanese school children were stoned and teased.

The general immigration law of 1917 of the United States was essentially selective, rather than restrictive, although the literacy provision was long advocated as a means of reducing numbers rather than as a quality test. This general immigration law, however, was not satisfactory, and was changed in 1921, and then in 1924. The following quotation is made from A Rational Immigration Policy by W. W. Husband, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor, formerly Commissioner General of Immigration:

> "Had it not been for the intense anti-immigration sentiment which developed during and after the world war, it seems probable that the adoption of the literacy test might have served to postpone more radical action for at least a few years, although Senator Dillingham's per centum limit plan, which was first proposed in 1912, was already being considered as a probable next step in the development of a policy of restriction.
>
> "After the Armistice, it was, however, soon apparent that the demand for real restriction had abruptly outgrown all previous limits; and when in December 1920, only ten days after Congress convened, the House of Representatives, with only forty-two votes, passed the Johnson Bill suspending

virtually all immigration, this no doubt reflected the wishes of an overwhelming majority of the people in all sections of the country. The Senate, however, living up to its traditional conservatism, substituted the Dillingham per centum limit plan; and the much-discussed three per cent quota law of May, 1921, was the result. It is no secret that the underlying purpose was to bring about a radical restriction of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and the Near East, but without materially interfering with a normal or even considerably increased movement from the countries of Northern and Western Europe. As a matter of fact, the quota law was the culmination of years of effort to achieve that end. The extent to which that purpose was realized is indicated by the simple fact that in 1914, which was the last normal year under the open-door policy, a total of 915,974 immigrant aliens were admitted from the so-called new sources in Europe and the Near East, compared with 163,813 admitted under the quota law in the fiscal year 1924; whereas the number coming from Northwestern Europe increased from 164,133 in 1914 to 203,346 in 1924. Or, putting it in another way, the proportion of Northwestern European immigrants increased from 15.2 per cent of the total in 1914 to 55.4 per cent in 1924, And, it may be added incidentally, immigrants of the four English-speaking peoples increased from 8.8 per cent of the total number in 1914 to 28.3 per cent in 1924.

"After an eventful three years, the law of 1921 expired by limitation, and was succeeded by the far more restrictive legislation officially known as the Immigration Act of 1924.

"This law retains the quota limit principle, but instead of quotas based on three per cent of the population of each nationality resident in the United States in 1910, as before, the Act of 1924 fixes such quotas at two per cent of the resident population, as shown by the Census of 1890. Moreover, the

quota area under the Act of 1921 was limited to Europe, the Near East, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand; and natives of quota countries gained immunity by residing in non-quota territory for five years. Under the new law, only Canada, Newfoundland, and independent countries of the New World are outside the pale, and natives of quota territory are counted against the allotment of the country of their birth, no matter how long they may have lived in a non-quota country.

"The total quota allotment for all countries concerned is now 164,667 annually, compared to a total of 357,802 under the Act of 1921, and it is hardly necessary to explain that the reduction for the most part affects Southern and Eastern Europe, this being the obvious purpose in selecting the Census of 1890 as the population basis. As a matter of fact, the new law virtually closed the doors against this immigration, so that territory which sent us nearly 916,000 immigrants in 1914 now has an aggregate quota allotment of only 20,223. The check on normal immigration from Northwestern Europe is, however, not so far-reaching, for whereas this area furnished only 164,133 immigrants in 1914, the quota allotment under the new law is 141,099.....

"In the past our immigration has been influenced more by the necessities or desires of the peoples of foreign countries than by the demonstrated needs of the United States; but recent legislation is a virtual abandonment of the time-honored theory that America is a refuge for the oppressed, needy, or discontented of other lands."

The basic principle of the general immigration law of 1921 and 1924 was racial, discriminating against southern and eastern from northwestern Europeans. It means virtually the Nordic first. Henry P. Fairchild says about racial composition as follows:

"The sources of immigration shifted away from Northwestern Europe to Southern and Eastern Europe. This meant a vast increase in the proportions of Alpine and modern Mediterranean stocks, and the introduction of various new stocks, hitherto virtually unrepresented, such as the Semitic, Turks or Turanian, and Magyar. As the volume of this immigration swelled decade after decade, there resulted a rapid alteration in the racial preponderance of the American people-- which, as has been noted, is about all there is to the race type of any modern country--with potential consequences which no one could foretell. The long establishment of the Nordic elements gave them a position of advantage as long as the increase of the new strains depended chiefly upon immigration itself. But as the new stocks began to be incorporated into the body politic and to increase by reproduction as well as by immigration, the racial dilution proceeded at an accelerating rate, particularly on account of the high birth-rate of the foreign stocks. It took about a generation for the American people to awaken to the menace of the new situation and it took the World War to afford the final push that determined them to do something about it. The result was the immigration law of 1924..... There can be little doubt that the framers and the supporters of this law were actuated by a desire to check the racial dilution of the American people, and to guarantee, as far as it could be done through an immigration law, that the racial composition of the people of the United States should remain unchanged through future generations. But for reasons which should now be plain, the law could not be drafted in true racial terms. Instead of race, national origin was adopted as the basis of classification, and nationality was defined as country of birth. This, as has already been pointed out, is a fairly satisfactory rule-of-thumb method for keeping the racial factors constant." ("Racial Composition of the Population").

For the above reasons, the general immigration law was passed, with quota percentage to the Europeans, and non-quota to the Orientals, Japan included.

When the non-quota exclusion bill was under negotiation in the joint Committee of Congress, Secretary Hughes said: "The Japanese are a sensitive people and unquestionably would regard such a legislation as fixing a stigma upon them." It would, he believed, largely undo the work of the successful Washington Conference.

That quota-rule, that is to say, three per cent of number of Japanese in the United States in 1890, plus the uniform basis unit of 100 for every country, would have admitted only 146 Japanese annually.

The Japanese Government knew better than any one else what this non-quota exclusion act would really mean to world peace, not only diplomatically, but also ethically. It would tend to destroy the ideal of eternal peace of the world based upon intellect and sympathy harmonizing with utility, and on the contrary it would build an international relation upon power and racial prejudice. The justification of barbarism by a most advanced nation of the world will bring a "grave consequence."

This is the point insisted on by the Japanese Government. It is a great fallacy to suppose that the Japanese Government denied the right of self-determination of the United States on this immigration problem.

Ambassador Hanihara proposed to Secretary Hughes, May 31, 1924, "If even so limited a number should in any

way be found embarrassing to the United States the Japanese Government has already manifested its readiness to revise the existing arrangement with a view to further limitation of immigration.[1]

Every political means was in vain, and the word "grave consequence" used in the Ambassador's statement antagonized the Senate; the non-quota exclusion act was passed April, 1924 to be in force from July 1, 1924.

The reaction to the law was dreadful in Japan. Nationalists, Imperialists, and Militarists cried like wounded wolves but the people knew that "war" was not a final solution of the problem. They for the first time realized that world peace could not be built upon a mere idealism. In a sense, they have become realists in international questions. Thus the sentimentalism of the nineteenth century also deserted Japan.

At the time of the international turmoil, my friend was teaching in a High School of a mountain province in Japan. According to his talk, everybody was anxious about the outcome of the Bill: It was passed by Congress and everybody still kept his hope in the presidential veto but it was not vetoed.

When the news reached the mountain region far from the Capital, the boys, who lived in the school dormitory, took down the pictures of George Washington, Lincoln, or

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1. Blakeslee.

way to force submission to the United States the Japanese government has already modified its position to revise the existing arrangement with a view to further limitation of immigration.[1]

Every political issue has its value, and the term "grave consequences" used in the Japanese's statement subject and the Senator; the co-equal association of the general idea, idea to be in force upon this i. idea.

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At the time of the International trial, my father was teaching in a high school of a mountain village in Japan. According to his talk, introduced the reading about the success of the mill. It was passed as journeys and everybody still, next his hope in the prestigious year but it was not united.

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1. Hidemaire.

Wilson from the wall, and carried them up to the top of the hill near the school. There they piled up the pictures and burnt them, with a cry of "Banzai." Then, one of the students stood up and made a very appealing speech, closing as follows:

> "Here we have a handful of cold ashes, the remnant of sentimental idealism planted and cultivated by the hypocritical missionaries. Now we have seen a great nation despising her own honor to have her citizens laughed at in the Orient."

Another "Banzai" was repeated.

In a neighboring town, an American missionary was residing. He was really a sincere person whom everybody loved and esteemed not because he was an American but because he was a real Christian gentleman. He had helped in the high school by teaching English.

The following day after the burial of the American idealism, this gentleman came to the class as usual but nobody listened to him. Hissing came up from every corner, Some students cried: "Hypocrite! Hypocrite!"

He began to speak, when a student stood up and said: "Why don't you go back to your country? Over there your sugarcoated speech may be listened to." Every student shouted "Go back! Go back!"

It was a fact that my friend, at that moment, decided to come to this country to understand the real America.

CHAPTER III. PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF THE JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS IN CALIFORNIA.

(a) Their Behavior Traits.

(b) The results of the Mental Tests of Their School Children.

(c) New Experience of Individual.

(d) The study of the racial distance by Professor Bogardus.

(e) Their dream life and eternal homesickness.

CHAPTER III

Psychological Aspect of the Japanese Immigrants in California.

I am assuming that habit formation is mainly responsible for the behavior traits of individuals, races, and nationalities, that these traits change as much as fashion in dress, and almost as freely, only within decades and centuries instead of seasonally, and that dispositional traits, while they certainly exist, are distributed to individuals in various proportions, so that there is an assortment of temperaments in all groups, seeming uniformities like the phlegm of the Englishman and the explosiveness of the Italian being mainly due to habit formation and the tendency of all dispositions to conform to the prevailing fashion. The behavior traits consist of a set of attitudes on the part of a person toward himself and the group and a corresponding set of attitudes of the group toward him, which together determine the role of the person in his social milieu.

When the non-quota immigration bill was under negotiation in the joint committee of Congress, 1924, Secretary Hughes said: "The Japanese are a sensitive people

and unquestionably would regard such a legislation as fixing a stigma upon them." The same remarks as to the Japanese temperament, I have heard from many Americans--students, professors, teachers, policemen, employers, and co-working laborers. The question why the Japanese are so sensitive is not easily answered. It may be idle, indeed, to speak confidently of biologically;determined behavior tendencies in races and nationalities as a working idea when we see daily that the social distance and the disparity of attitudes between Japanese parents and children--or, shall we say, grandparents and grandchildren in California is, generally speaking, greater than the same differences between nationalities....say, the Chinese and the English, or even the Americans and the Japanese born in this country.

Mr. William I. Thomas says in his Personality in the Urban Environment":

> "Now it appears that behavior traits and their totality as represented by the personality are the outcome of a series of definitions of situation with the resulting reactions and their fixation in a body of attitudes or psychological set. Obviously, the institutions of a society, beginning with the family, form the character of its members almost as the daily nutrition forms their bodies, but this for everybody, and the unique attitudes of the individual and his unique personality are closely connected with certain incidents or critical experiences particular to himself, defining the situation, giving a psychological set, and often determining the whole life direction.
>
> "But an incident may contain a totally different meaning for different persons; its effect in a given case will depend on the total of the experience of

> the individual and the type of organization of the experience in memory at the moment. We know certainly, from the cases of dual and multiple personality, if in no other way, that memories tend to arrange themselves in blocks or groupings, each group maintaining a certain integrity, somewhat as we arrange studies in a curriculum, and I have called any group of experience hanging together in the memory, within totality of experience, an experience complex. The dependence of these experience groupings on our institutions and customs is also evident, but, since the institutions are eventually formed by the wishes, it is more important to view this problem from the standpoint of the wishes, meaning by this nothing Freudian, but simply what men want....."

The human race lives by tradition, largely. Our behavior is historically, as well as contemporaneously, conditioned, and I will try to give an outline of the process by which certain experience complexes and behavior reactions were historically developed in a selected national group, namely, the Japanese: and how it became modified by new experiences in America.

From a long established feudalism of three hundred years of the Tokugawa, there resulted a most elaborately developed and hierarchical aristocracy and rigid family system of Japan came out.

> "Class distinctions, loyalty, filial duty, politeness, sympathy, great sensibility as to relationship and status, strong solidarity as a group, local consciousness, vindictive spirit, conservativeness, chivalry, Bushido, and the spirit of self-sacrifice, etc., are the chief outcomes of the feudal and family system. Ascetic and aesthetic temperaments seem to come from the Buddhism."[1]

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1. Japanese Moral, by Professor T. Inouye, in Japan.

Mill counts personal cleanliness, generosity, and temperance as Japanese characteristics.[1]

Class distinction is still strong in Japan as a result of feudalism. Rich and poor, peasant and landowners, employers and employee, upper and lower officials, teacher and student, peer and common, official and non-official,--they all belong to distinct social categories. The prevailing attitude of the lower toward the upper class is not antagonistic, but rather humiliative and admiring, whereas the attitude of the latter toward the former is assertive and generous. Loyalty, and self-sacrifice of the subjects for their master has been long inculcated as a most beautiful virtue.

In such a society it is very rare that the poor marry with the rich, or the peasants with the landowners. Every individual is expected to know for many past generations all the connections between his family and others, and at least the most important connections of the families connected with his own. Those who venture to break the class distinctions are always regretted by the members of the class. When an able man emerges out of the lower class up into the higher, he is envied by his class members, and looked askance by the upper class.

A man is polite toward the upper, but very impolite toward the lower.

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1. H. A. Mills, op cit., p. 232.

[illegible] among Indian peoples, [illegible] and [illegible] as [illegible]?

These distinctions in civil status in India are a result of feudalism. Rich and poor, peasant and landlord, employers and employee, upper and lower officials, masters and servants, free and bonded, official and non-official, -- they all belong to distinct social categories. The [illegible] attitude of the [illegible] toward the upper class is not servile, but rather humiliating and abusive. Because the attitude of the lower toward the lower is [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] and half-servitude of the peasants are their master and lord, buttressed by a [illegible] virtue.

In such a society it is very rare that the over-[illegible] with the rich, or the peasants with their landlord. Every individual is expected to [illegible] for [illegible] all the conditions [illegible] the family and elsewhere, and [illegible] be [illegible] [illegible] of his dependents [illegible] with his own. There are matters to [illegible] the [illegible] distinctions are always [illegible] by the [illegible] of the [illegible]. When at [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Their group consciousness is very strong, emotionally, but not objectively. This is the reason why the Japanese in America are unsuccessful in cooperative business, while they won the victory in the Russo-Japanese War.

Their local consciousness is manifested in many prefectural associations in California.

Chivalry (Gikio-Shin) is a remarkable sentiment of the Japanese common people. This is an outcome of class antagonism; a sentiment of rebellion against bullying power; sympathy for the helpless, and the willingness to sacrifice self for the sake of those who had done kind acts for them. Bushido is the spirit of Aristocrats, while chivalry is the spirit of proletarians.

The Japanese nature manifested in ancient literatures was very optimistic compared with the pessimistic and ascetic tendency of later times. A long succession of civil wars before the Tokogawa, and a rigid class distinction led the people to Buddhism and asceticism.

The Meiji Restoration set the long arrested ambition comparatively free, and the field of achievement, glory and success was opened to every man. But the entrance was not wide enough to level out any social stratum. The result is that all classes of the Japanese society have been marked, consciously or unconsciously, by the distinction-seeking spirit--a distinction of any sort. It is to be

noted that this distinction-seeking spirit is the dynamic power of individual success of the Japanese immigrants, and it is also the most fundamental cause of their failure as a whole. The reason is very simple; there is no place like home to get honor; therefore, he goes back to Japan as soon as he succeeds and only the unsuccessful persons remain in this country.

In order to get some scientific data as to the mental ability and characteristics of the Japanese race, it will not be so useless to quote here a result of the mental tests of the Japanese school children in California by Professor Terman of Stanford University, assisted by Professor Darside, the head professor of psychology at the University of California at Los Angeles. He has made a survey of the Japanese children in the cities and towns of northern, central, and southern California in 1921. The following statistical data were kindly supplied by Professor Darside.

I. The Group Tested.

A. Numbers.

Binet tests were given to 568 children, from 10 to 15 years of age. The distribution by age is as follows:

10 years - - - 139	13 years - - - 72
11 years - - - 144	14 years - - - 57
12 years - - - 124	15 years - - - 32

B. Localities Studied.

Alameda - - - - - -	54 children	
Fresno - - - - - - - -	68 "	
Oakland - - - - - - -	25 "	(Binet only)
Sacramento - - - - -	96 "	
Santa Clara Co. - - -	91	
Stockton - - - - - - -	51	
Florin - - - - - - - -	52	
Los Angeles - - - - -	58	

C. Distribution according to occupation of fathers.

1. Professional men, and business managers - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 8.4%

2. Managers of small stores, hotels, etc. 26.1%

3. Skilled laborers, tailors, carpenters, mechanics, etc. - - - - - - 8.4%

4. Semi-skilled laborers, waiters, janitors, barbers, farm tenants, etc. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 40.6%

5. Unskilled laborers - - - - - - - - - - 16.3%

D. Distribution by sexes.

Boys - - - 292.
Girls - - - 276

E. Distribution by school grades.

Age.	Average Grade.
10	Low fourth
11	Low fifth
12	Low sixth
13	Low seventh
14	High seventh
15	Low eighth

II. General Results of Tests.

A. Binet Tests of general intelligence.

1. Average I.Q. of whole group - - - - 90.2
Boys - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 90.5
Girls - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 89.4

2. Distribution of I. Q. according to locality.

   a. Large cities, San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles - - - 99.2.

   b. Smaller cities, Fresno, Sacramento, Stockton - - -87.6.

   c. Small town and rural schools, Florin and Santa Clara County - - - 78.0.

3. Distribution of I. Q. according to occupation of fathers.

   a. Professional and large business - - 110

   b. Small business - - - - - - - - - - - - 94

   c. Skilled labor - - - - - - - - - - - - 91

   d. Semi-skilled labor - - - - - - - - - - 88

   e. Unskilled labor - - - - - - - - - - - 82
      (According to army figures, the average I. Q. of American men falling in the foregoing classes is as follows:
      a. 115
      b. 96
      c. 81
      d. 74
      e. 71

4. Comparison with other immigrant groups.

   (It should be noted that the following figures are based upon studies of children made in large cities for the following nationalities.)

Immigrant group	Average I.Q.
North European	100.3
Japanese	99.2
Finn	90.0
Slovak	85.6
Southern Italian	77.5

   (The average I.Q. for American children seems to be about 97.0.)

B. Result of the army Beta Test.

Age	Average Score Japanese	Average Score American
10	60.2	60.5
11	70.0	66.0
12	79.5	68.3
13	82.0	(No American norms)
14	82.0	" " "
15	84.0	" " "

Average score, Italian 12 years old 54.0
" " Spanish 12 years old 52.7
" " Portuguese 12 years old 52.5

III. Teachers' rating of Japanese Children.

The following ratings represent the combined judgments of over 400 teachers on the abilities and character traits of Japanese children as compared with Americans:

1. School Subjects
   Japanese children are noted as very superior in school deportment, slightly superior in school application, drawing, painting, music, penmanship, spelling, arithmetic, physical training, slightly inferior in reading and language, history, geography, nature study and science.

2. Character Traits.
   Japanese children are rated as slightly superior in the following traits: Appreciation of beauty, permanence of moods, desire to excel, freedom from vanity, conscientiousness. As approximately equal in physical energy, prudence, self-confidence, will-power, cheerfulness, popularity, sensitivity, truthfulness, mechanical ingenuity, desires to know, general intelligence. As slightly inferior in originality.

In studying the given teachers' rating of Japanese children we find very interesting correlation with the generally accepted characteristic trait of the Japanese people.

Taking all of the results into account, the following conclusions seem fully justified:

(1) The Japanese children in California are as a group somewhat inferior in intelligence to Northern Europeans, but markedly superior to Southern Europeans.

(2) In application and capacity, for rote learning, they are probably superior to any European race in America, as well as superior to native Americans.

(3) In social-moral traits, they are fully equal, and in many respects probably superior to the average child of other races in California, as judged by their teachers, this being true with respect to native American children as well.

Some of the capacities may be inborn, and some of the character traits may be acquired. In either case it is clear that these statistical data may be applied with some modifications to the Japanese immigrants in California. With these characteristic traits, which are mainly emotional, conditioned by the feudal and the family system, the immigrants came to America, a country of individual freedom and liberty, a country of quite different culture, a country of entirely different blood and tongue. It is very important to know whether the new experiences are integrated and organized among the old experiences to make an integrated personality, or not.

The following is a part of the life history of Mr. A. who came to this country five years ago as soon as he had finished his College in Tokio:

- "The only Americans I had ever known in Japan were missionaries and college teachers. One of the missionaries came to Japan thirty years ago, before I was born. He often told us that he was stoned and persecuted by the ignorant folks at that time, because of his evangelical work. He came from Massachusetts and was a graduate of the Harvard Theological Seminary. He was indeed a pious Christian gentleman, although he was stern, and very rarely smiled. He lived in a little country town for twenty-five years living in the same house with his wife. He had no children. They could not speak Japanese well. Everybody respected him, but nobody liked him, because he was too stern.

"Rev. W., whom I met in Tokio, was a very lively Californian. He was a young sport. He picked up some Japanese words during his short stay in Japan. He was always talking and smiling, so everybody liked him, but did not respect him. He knew lots of things but nothing was deep. So we called him a 'cheap encyclopedia.' He prayed earnestly, but nobody thought he was really praying. He was indeed a good fellow.

"They told us that America was a country of freedom and equality, an ideal Christian Republic. No unemployment, no hunger, no crime. So it is a national shame to Japan to have prostitutes and wine. The Christian Republic has no prostitutes, no wine.

"They told us that any American was much more intellectual and considerate. Any American statesman was like George Washington or Abraham Lincoln.

"There were hold-ups and wine in this country too.

"As soon as the boat came in the harbor of Seattle, we were put into the Immigration Office which was worse than a country jail. There were not enough hammocks so we had to lie rolled in blankets on the cement floor.

"An officer counted the number and locked the door. A man wanted to send a word of comfort to his wife in another compartment, but it was strictly forbidden to communicate with the outside.

"The first night passed in anxiety and fear. Everybody was afraid he would be sent back. The next morning, a doctor came in and told us to form a line. We took off everything we had on and were subjected to a disgraceful examination for venereal diseases and piles. The toilet was wide open and every time we entered an officer watched us not to exchange stuffs for the duodenum examination.

"After the physical examination, we were taken one by one, before immigration officers to have a cross oral quiz. We all trembled although we had legal passports. We were excited with fear and sleepless anxiety. A Japanese interpreted for each applicant, but he was too excited to make a correct answer about the exact date of the first landing, the name of the steam boat, year of birth,--these are really

embarrassing questions for a Japanese who is not accustomed to the American Calendar.

"The officers looking at his excitement and hesitation suspected that he might be an illegal immigrant, and confined him in the next room. After three days, however, we were released from the jail, and set foot for the first time upon the land of the blessed America.

"I wanted to go to a Japanese hotel, but I could not speak English at all. I looked around with wonder, fear and poorly restrained humiliation. I stood in the corner of the street looking at the gaily dressed ladies and the ugly looking painted girls, but it was funny that every white man and woman looked quite alike. I thought they were entirely different from top to toe from us."

The consciousness of kind plays a tyrannical role in one's mind; averts him from the white toward his own group. The color of the skin is the unsurpassable barrier between white and yellow as it is between white and black. So long as the barrier stands high above the human border line, they are naturally separated. Of the cultural significance of the color of the skin, E. H. Sutherland says in his The Biological and Social Process:

> "Some of the biological traits or processes become objects cultural attitudes and have significance as culture, rather than as biological factors. The position and behavior of the mulatto can be explained only by the fact that the color of the skin has come to

> have a social value and to be a cultural trait. When the color of the skin is thus given a cultural significance it comes to be homogeneous with other cultural phenomena and to be a sociological element rather than a biological factor for purposes of sociological theory."

As a result of the physical difference, social distance follows. The lack of fellow-feeling and understanding which characterizes social distance is evident in any place where the color barrier stands. Living in an American college dormitory, with hundreds of boys, one of my friends wrote to me that it was the most lonesome spot in the world.

The social distance or the race prejudice may be regarded as a form of isolation. And in the case of the Japanese in California this situation is aggravated by the fact that the white man has developed a determination to keep him in isolation--in his place.

In order to secure an accurate idea of how the racial-distance relations of native-born city people change, the following experiment was made by Professor Bogardus of the University of Southern California:

Changes in social-distance reactions by 110 urban Americans.

Toward following races more favorable, less favorable, no change. (Samples)			
Armenians	23	9	78
Chinese	19	10	81
Germans	6	34	70
Hindus	3	11	96
Japanese	23	19	68
Mexicans	15	22	73
Scotch	0	0	110
Turks	1	16	93

"The relatively large figures in column 3 indicate that changes in first-feeling reactions take place slowly--more so than might be anticipated. Through personal interviews, materials are at hand which explain these changes. The numerous 'no changes' are the result either of no racial contacts and experiences or else of possessing attitudes so fixed or against various races that the habitual reactions are adamant to all ordinary racial experience. One is likely to have such favorable convictions concerning his own race, and such an antipathy toward at least a few other races, that current experiences do not change him.

"The 'more favorable' changes as noted in column 1, are often due to personal experiences of a pleasing nature with a few representatives of the given races. If a person has previously had a neutral attitude, then a few pleasing experiences will suffice; but if he has had an unfavorable attitude, then many pleasurable experiences will be necessary in order to produce a more favorable opinion.

"On the other hand, an unpleasant experience with a single American, for example, will quickly change a person's first-feeling reactions from neutral to unfavorable. The figures in column 2 are to be accounted for, usually, by one or a few unfortunate experiences or by a few adverse hearsay experiences. A person's social distance reactions shift according to the unpleasant or pleasant nature of personal experiences."[1]

According to this experiment, the Japanese have more favorable reactions than other races. However, the "more favorable" reactions do not mean the admittance of the Japanese into American society. Professor Bogardus made another experiment which is as follows:

"In order to measure and interpret social distance a list of seven social relationship has been worked out, and sixty persons of training and experience have been asked to rate these in order of the fellow-feeling and understanding that ordinarily exists in each. These social relationships, arranged according to the judges' verdict in order of decreasing fellow-feeling and under-

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1. Social Distance in the City.

standing, may be indicated as follows: (1) To admit to close kinship by marriage; (2) to have as 'chums'; (3) to have as neighbors on the same street; (4) to admit as member of one's occupation within one's country; (5) to admit as citizens of one's country; (6) to admit as visitors only to one's country; and (7) to exclude entirely from one's country.

"As a result, for instance, the Americans and other races such as the Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, and Turks were admitted by only a few of the 450 persons to the first three social relationships in the list of seven, and were put by many into social relationships 4 and 5, and by a substantial number into social relationships 6 and 7. On the other hand, races such as the English, French, Norwegians, and Scotch were admitted more or less freely to each of the first five social relationships and were put by scarcely anyone into social relationships 6 and 7."[1]

If the 450 persons be a fair sample for the experiment, we have to conclude that the opportunities for assimilation open to the Negroes, Chinese, Turks, and Japanese are measurably smaller than for the English, French, Norwegians, and Scotch. Likewise, the rises of misunderstanding, ill-will, and conflict are measurably greater.

In this situation of social relationships, a Japanese immigrant is socially isolated. His wishes are thwarted. He finds among the American folks neither response, nor recognition. He is restless and lonely.

The following is the first experience of S. as a school boy in an American family in Los Angeles:

"I worked as hard as I could, like a mule. I was obedient and grateful. I thought that Mrs. B. was satisfied with my service. One day the cook told me that Mrs. B. was talking with the neighbor about me saying that I was like deaf. On the

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1. Bogardus.

> following morning, I saw Mrs. B. laughing with her guest in the parlor, and as soon as I came in they stopped laughing at me. I suspected that she would discharge me, so I told her: 'I go home!' She looked surprised and told me many things which I could not understand at all. I went back to a Japanese boarding house with my suitcase."

The following is the experience of a man on an American farm:

> "I lived alone in a very big ranch, to take care of orange trees. I saw nobody for several days. I thought little, reasoned little, having a surer guide in my instincts. I was certainly on the same level mentally with the pure savage or the wild animal."

In both cases, the loneliness and the solitude makes them gradually subjective, and their inability to realize themselves turns back attention to themselves until their consciousness becomes entirely or partly out of focus.

> "I haven't seen anybody for two weeks already except a colored boy who brought some groceries for food. One night I came back from the ranch to go to bed and behind the looking glass found a man, scorched and exhausted, glaring at me. I shuddered a moment terribly. But, oh, it was myself in the glass!"

> "I was like a beast today. I thought nothing but a woman. I have imagined the woman's hips, silk clad legs. All day long I have been tormented by this sexual desire." (From a farmer's diary.)

A man who has become subjective is an easy prey of suspicion. Suspicion is a sister of subjectiveness. Suspicion is nothing but an attitude of being on guard. In all walks of life the Japanese thinks that he is liable to meet some objection to his presence among the whites. If

an invitation is issued to the public, the Japanese can never know whether he would be welcome or not: if he goes he is liable to have his feelings hurt by unpleasant discriminations; if he stays away, he is blamed for indifference. If he meets a white friend on the street, he is in a dilemma; if he does greet the friend he is likely to be flatly snubbed. If by chance he is introduced, to a white woman or man, he expects to be ignored on the next meeting, and usually is. White friends may call on him, but he is scarcely expected to call on them, save for strictly business matters. If he gains the affections of a white girl and marries her he may invariably expect slurs to be thrown on her reputation and on his, and that both his and her race will shun their company. When he dies he cannot be buried beside white corpses. He is always afraid that some day all the Japanese will be kicked out of the U. S.

This is the attitude of the Japanese immigrants toward Americans, mostly based upon their suspicious interpretation of attitudes of the American people toward them. This may be called an inferiority complex of those who are biologically and culturally oppressed; biologically, because their physical appearance is much inferior to that of Americans; culturally because his English knowledge is little. He is always conscious of his inferiority before the Americans. When he hears some one talk in English he has to listen to every word with keen attention. If he misses

a word, he cannot understand the whole sentence. When he is talking in English, he has to be very careful in pronouncing every word lest he should make some mistake in accentuation or pronunciation. When he meets an American, he is quite embarrassed what to say, how to greet him; when he is working in a family his fear and anxiety are doubled and trebled. Thus what he is always conscious of is his own inferiority. In order to overcome his deficiency, he makes further mistakes and errors. The natural flow of his effort is arrested by his own consciousness of deficiency.

> "I am nearly deaf and dumb before an American. If I want to speak better, I make further mistakes and errors. But if I talk with a Mexican, or a European who cannot speak English so well, oh, then I can speak very fluently, of course in English. I don't know why. One day I was invited by a Spanish club to luncheon. I had to make a speech on the Japanese labor mofement. I was quite sure that I could speak better than the audience, or at least as well as they could. I started my speech, and went on very smoothly, when at once, I saw an American in the midst of the Mexican audience. I was suddenly arrested and perplexed. I began to stumble at every word. I began to be careful in every accent and pronunciation. The rest of the sentences which I had memorized at home did not come out smoothly. I thought I pronounced the word 'difficulty' in the right way accentuating 'dif,' but I saw the American smile: I wondered whether I pronounced as 'difficulty,' which is my usual mistake. While I was thinking thus in my mind, I was also speaking. I did not care about the reactions of the Mexican audience at all, I cared only about that of the American. I got gradually perplexed and confused."

The attitude of inferiority (in social, physical, and cultural spheres) is the source of considerable social mal-

adjustment of the Japanese immigrants. Defect in some sphere of personality leaves the individual two alternatives. He may admit his limitation and try to compensate for it, directly or indirectly, by increased effort. Or he may refuse to acknowledge the defect, and struggle against every indication of it by defense reactions and flights from reality. The Japanese people are very sensitive to distinction and dignity. Therefore, a conflict arises between the habitual attitude of self-esteem and the acceptance of facts derogatory to the self. Since the evidence of one's inferiority always comes from without, one way of solving the conflict is to deny or rationalize these environmental indications, thus allowing the self attitudes to go on unhampered by troublesome facts. It is therefore the environment which is considered at fault, and the individual is excused or justified. The reproach which he should really give himself he identifies with the attitude of society toward him, and rationalizes it as injustice.

"The Americans may think that I know nothing, because I cannot express myself. But I am a college graduate of Japan. I know much more than the American College boys, who are experts in woman hunting."

"America first" is the funniest thing in the world. They have an incurable racial-superiority complex. Where is morality in America? Prostitutes and wine anywhere.

Where is justice? Policemen and judges are bribed. Where is discipline? The young children think they have the same rights with their parents. Where is religion? Aimee McPherson was kidnapped into a love nest and her mother threatened her to reveal the secret. Where is art? No originality, no culture, no morality, no religion in this country, except machines. They know how to invent them, but they don't know how to use them. Therefore, American civilization is divorced from culture."[1]

Some of the Japanese families in California do not allow their children to talk English at home. The parents usually do not know English, so it is necessary for discipline and family life to unify the language. This, however, is sometimes a rationalized necessity. The real motive is to compensate their sense of inferiority of language defect by sacrificing their children. A man who was working in an American store as a janitor had three children of school age. As a result of daily association with the neighboring American children they find it more convenient and easier to use English than Japanese.

One day their father told me:

"It is enough to hear English at the store. Every time I hear somebody talk in English to me I am strained, and as I cannot understand well or express myself well, I feel

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1. From the "Japanese Los Angeles."

myself humiliated. What's the matter with having the children talk in English at home? Have I to feel myself humiliated before my children, too, because of the language defect?"

Usually, a Japanese Language School forbids the children to use English at school, at least in the class room, so as to give them practice in Japanese conversation. But, in some cases this is also a rationalized reason; as almost none of the teachers of the language schools speak English well, they unconsciously compensate for this by prohibiting it in order to keep their dignity. Usually, a language school which allows the use of English at school is uncontrollable. But by thus prohibiting, they create another sense of inferiority in the mind of children, and another compensation.

Thus, one can go on unhampered by flatly denying American cultures, or rationalizing his own defects. But a rather soft minded person may build up an ideal in the air or dream world, in which are satisfied the wishes that find no realization in the repression of the real world. I know a man who lived in an apartment house in California. He had a picture of a Japanese girl. She was extraordinarily beautiful. I once asked him whether she was his relative or an engaged woman. He said: "Of course, she is my sweetheart." Sometimes he smiled at the picture looking into her face, or sometimes he kissed and embraced it with a deep affection. One day I found the same picture in a Japanese book store in Los Angeles.

K. was a graduate of a University in Japan. He came to this country to be a musician. But his voice was not promising. We were living in a room in a Japanese church in Los Angeles. One night he awoke suddenly and went up to the platform and began to sing. "What's the matter?" I asked him. "Why, look there; there is my audience applauding me!

A man of forty who came to California about twenty years ago, and still single was always dreaming that some day a nice girl would fall in love with him. He had had a marriage ring for ten years already preparing for a bride to come some day in the future.

Two years ago a tragedy occurred in a country town of Southern California. There was a Japanese boarding house with ten or twenty single men living in it. The owner of the house had a girl of sixteen, who was pretty attractive. M. was a lonely, sensitive person. He was always reading novels and fictions alone in his room while others were playing cards or talking. One day he shot the girl with a shot gun, although not fatally. He was arrested at once, and I was called to the police station to interpret. He told me that he shot her because his sweetheart betrayed him. Later we found that his neurotic imagination made her his sweetheart. She told me that she had never talked with him since he came to her father's boarding house.

In almost all the cases, frustrated wishes in an American society are compensated for to some extent in a Japanese

community. The existence of the Japanese communities as a group is very important for many Japanese immigrants in California from a psychological point of view.

Not frequently, however, a person who is rejected by an American group cannot accomodate himself to the Japanese group by his unsociable individualization of behavior. In such a case, old associations and ties are cut in him. No group association or public opinion can hold him. Old standards disintegrate and life is reduced to a more nearly individual basis. O. was once a successful boss of a big camp in California, but later he failed in business. But he was too haughty to ask his friends for help. So he retired from the business world, and at the same time from all social affairs. He kept denouncing money making business, and he himself never worked again. He told me once his philosophy of life:

> "It is nothing but custom and tradition that holds us in decent. It is, therefore, very foolish and conventional to mould our conduct into them. Every human being has a right to act according to his desires. I don't work, because it is unpleasant. When I have nothing to eat, I go to a Japanese around here at meal time. Do you say it is a shame? Why, there is no such thing as shame in nature. You feel shame, because you are imprisoned in the world of convention."

While the soft-minded persons tend to day-dreaming attitudes, the tough-minded persons rarely yield to such a neurotic condition. They may face their limitations squarely, and try to compensate them either by direct or indirect ways.

They compensate for their language defects by hard study, as is illustrated by K. K. Kawakami who struggled so hard to overcome his language defect, that he not only succeeded but won fame as a good English writer. Most of the Japanese born and brought up in Japan, cannot compensate for the language defects entirely, because their vocal apparatus is already conditioned so that the correct pronunciation of English is nearly impossible. But he can master reading knowledge and learning ability. In a similar way they can master American customs and ways of living.

In most cases with the Japanese, however, the compensation is made rather indirectly. If one road to happiness is blocked, it is possible to find another. Defect in on e sphere is compensated for by the development of serviceable habits in another. It is a notable fact in California that the Japanese children at school get high grades. Parents stimulate their children to emulate the Americans at school. The newspapers broadcast the honor of this sort. The parents themselves try their best to emulate the Americans by hard work in economic world.

One of the outcomes of the sense of deficiency which the Japanese is forced to experience in association with the American people, is the gradual development of the Japanese communities in the local, and the so-called "Japanese Town" in big cities like San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Being driven out of American society, they form their

own society by the consciousness of kind. Society is a stage on which various human wishes play different roles. Some want distinction and social recognition; some want sexual response; some want security; and some want adventure. The wishes frustrated in American society , are compensated for in the Japanese society. The stage is different, but the players are the same. Here, too, however, some wishes are thwarted, and drive them out of the society. Some withdraw from the troublesome world; some enjoy a dreamy life; some over-compensate just to disintegrate themselves.

One of the most outstanding psychological phenomena predominating in every Japanese immigrant in California must be his "Eternal Homesickness." In their bitter struggle day after day, year after year, for a life something better, (Oh, they do not know what "a life something better" means) the spirit of their native land remains for them something nicer, richer and sweeter which arouses longing to go back without reminders of hardship and poverty which they have experienced here.

"Oh, to be in England,
Now that April's here,
And whoever wakes in England
Sees, some morning unaware,
That the lowest boughs and the brush-wood sheaf
Round the elm-tree bole are in tiny leaf,
While the chaffinch sings on the orchard bough
In England--now!"

(Browning)

By the magic of memory, which selects the pleasant affairs out of miseries, the Japanese feel homesick. It is not for a mere whim that many a Japanese abandons his hard won success and goes back to die by the cherry trees. The eternal call of the native land is the greatest reason why the Japanese immigration in California fails as a whole.

CHAPTER IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAPANESE COMMUNITIES IN CALIFORNIA

(a) The Japanese population in California.

(b) The establishment of the "Gospel Club."

(c) The increase of Japanese communities.

(d) The construction of Japanese association.

(e) The establishment of religious communities, --Christian, Buddhist, and Shintoist.

(f) The Japanese Language school.

(g) Newspapers and magazines in the Japanese language.

(h) Another important feature of social control.

CHAPTER IV

The Development of the Japanese Communities in California.

According to the Federal Census of 1930, the Japanese in continental United States, that is, not including the Hawaiian Islands, totaled 138,834 (males 81,771, females 57,063), out of which 97,456 lived in California, 17,837 in Washington, 4,958 in Oregon, 3,269 in Utah, and 3,213 in Colorado, and the other Japanese lived scattered in the Southern, Middle West, and Eastern States. It indicates that seventy per cent of the total Japanese lived in California and eighty per cent of the total lived in two states, that is, California and Washington. The following table shows the comparison with the Japanese population in 1920 and 1910.

	1910	1920	1930
Total in U. S.	72,157	111,010	138,834
California	41,356	71,952	97,456
Washington	12,929	17,387	17,837
Oregon	3,418	4,151	4,758
Utah	2,110	2,936	3,269
Colorado	2,300	2,464	3,213

etc.

This uneven distribution of the Japanese population resulted from economic and social causes. It was economic because better climatic conditions for intensive agriculture and better opportunities for business in California were an incentive to the Japanese immigrants.

If there had been no such economic opportunities, they would have moved away into other states. It was social because if a man or a group of men should find a promising colony they would call their relatives, friends or unrelated laborers from other places to live with them. The Japanese population in Californis is unevenly distributed. The numbers in each of its counties and cities, according to the Fifteenth Census of the United States in 1930, (Department of Population, Vol. III, part I, p. 266) were as follows:

County	1930	1920	1910
Alameda	5,715	5,221	3,266
Alpine			1
Amador	2	17	2
Butte	307	423	295
Calaveras			3
Colousa	211	275	140
Contra Costa	796	846	1,009
Del Norte			
Eldorado	9	47	31
Fresno	5280	5732	2233

County	1930	1920	1910
Glenn	9	122	33
Humboldt			6
Imperial	2241	1986	217
Inyo	20	82	41
Kern	712	338	273
Kings	746	594	293
Lake			3
Lassen	17	9	6
Los Angeles	35390	19911	8461
Madera	218	136	32
Marin	158	140	199
Mariposa			3
Mendocino	82	56	77
Merced	768	420	98
Modoc	1		
Mono	4	2	14
Monterey	2271	1614	1121
Napa	68	79	103
Nevada		16	22
Orange	1613	1491	641
Placer	1874	1474	862
Plumas	10	22	20
Riverside	589	626	765
Sacramento	8114	5800	3874
San Benito	559	427	286
San Bernadino	578	533	946

County	1930	1920	1910
San Diego	1722	1431	520
San Francisco	6250	5385	4518
San Joaquin	4339	4354	1804
San Luis Obispo	863	501	434
San Mateo	1169	663	358
Santa Barbara	1889	930	863
Santa Clara	4320	2981	2299
Santa Cruz	1407	1019	689
Shasta		3	42
Sierra	3	3	17
Siskiyou	10	14	24
Salano	1350	1017	894
Sonoma	716	506	554
Stanislaus	505	478	113
Sutter	399	373	134
Tehama	75	95	98
Trinity			
Tulare	1486	1602	615
Tuolumne	2	3	6
Ventura	597	675	872
Yolo	1423	1152	789
Yuba	574	355	336

Corresponding figures for the California cities were as follows:

Cities	1930	1920	1910
Alameda	822	644	499
Alhambra	79	65	13
Bakersfield	239	153	160
Belvedere Township	515		
Berkeley	1320	911	710
Fresno	1176	1119	629
Glendale	408	177	36
Long Beach	596	376	127
Los Angeles	21081	11618	4238
Oakland	2137	2709	1520
Pasadena	842	383	253
Riverside	277	340	581
Sacramento	3347	1976	1437
San Bernardino	124	110	94
San Diego	911	772	159
San Francisco	6250	5358	4518
San Jose	436	321	345
Santa Ana	42	74	14
Santa Barbara	296	198	152
Santa Monica	432	80	66
Stockton	1386	840	475

This uneven distribution of the population according to states, city and county is a matter of significance in the study of Japanese communities in California, for they have colonized to a very considerable extent so as to avail themselves of their own institutions and of the best opportunities.

When a Japanese immigrant finds work which pays well and promises to be permanent in a locality where there is no Japanese settlement yet, he usually tries at once to attract his friends and relatives from other localities. He has been accustomed to the social response and recognition of his old milieu in Japan, and however well he may be adapted to American economic and political conditions he seldom is accepted as a number by an American primary group. Even if he were he would miss the directness and warmth of social relations to which he has been accustomed in his own group. His racial and cultural differences usually form an inferiority complex in him and drive him away from American society.

In order to satisfy their distorted wishes of social response and social recognition, the Japanese naturally draw into themselves and line together or meet together.

Therefore, a small group of men is soon formed; and their first attempt, partly for economic, partly for social reasons, is to have a boarding-house, or to have a regular meeting place. As to the first regular meeting of the Japanese held in California, Mr. Miyama, a pioneer immigrant gives an account as follows:

"In 1874 three Japanese students who had never seen each other before, happened to meet in San Francisco. Two of them were going to church. So they took the other for Sunday service. Since then, they met together on Sundays at the church. The Woman's Missionary Department of this Presbyterian Church opened a special class for them for the teaching of English and the Bible in the church. However, the church was not a good place for their social meetings. They felt discriminated against and uncomfortable among the Americans. Therefore, they rented a room in the basement of a Chinese mission for themselves. The room rent was fifty cents a month. As soon as a meeting place for the Japanese was settled other Japanese immigrants and students came to attend the meetings for religious or social purposes. In 1877, they organized the 'Gospel Club' with the following laws:

(1) Meetings should be held every Saturday evening for a religious purpose.

(2) Membership fees (25 cents a month) should be paid by the last Saturday of the month.

(3) The officers are: one President, one Treasurer, and one Secretary.

(4) General meetings should be held twice a year--January and July--for the election of the officers. (According to Mr. Niyama's remark recorded by Y. Toga in his The Development of the Japanese in America. (Japanese)

"The members of the 'Gospel Club' belonged mostly to the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches of San Francisco. In 1881, the Board of the Presbyterian Church tried to interfere with the Club, and antagonized those who belonged to the Methodist Church. Therefore, the latter separated from the Club, and organized the 'Tyler Gospel Club' at Tyler Street. This 'Tyler Gospel Club' was supported by some influential persons of the American Baptist Church , and came gradually under the control of the Baptists. However, most of the members were not so religious as were a few in that club. Their main purpose was social rather than religious. Therefore, in 1886, with a majority vote the non-religious party changed the principle and policy of the 'Tyler Gospel Club.' As a result the religious elements separated from them, and organized the Japanese Y.M.C.A.

"The Gospel Club, from which the 'Tyler Gospel Club' separated, gradually increased its members and formed the Japanese 'Methodist Mission' with the help of the American Mission. This 'Mission' was admitted as a Japanese Methodist Church in 1890, and built a new church. In 1892, they opened four other missions for their fellow-countrymen in San Jose, Sacramento, Oregon, and Portland."

This brief history of the development of the Japanese Methodist Church, and the Japanese Y.M.C.A. indicates that the consciousness of kind works first of all in the racial difference, and then in the differences of temperament or purpose among their own race. The consciousness of racial difference in primary, and other differentiation among their own race is secondary. Therefore, if something happens to stimulate the primary consciousness, the secondary consciousness of kind will be benumbed a little while, and they will react with a like response to the stimulation. Therefore, the more aggressively the environing social milieu discriminates them, the more strongly their racial solidarity becomes.

If a locality has a permanent industry the small Japanese colony continues to grow, partly by invited, partly by independent arrivals. Almost every individual or small family once settled attracts new members from the outside, however large the colony may already be, provided the economic conditions are favorable. The reasons are obviously economic and social. These are chief reasons of the uneven distribution of the Japanese immigrants in this

country, which often attracts the attention of the Americans, in spite of the fact that the total population of the Japanese is too small a percentage to raise a racial question in America. Therefore, we often hear advice from Americans, who hold a sympathetic view in regard to the Japanese problem, to live separately in different communities, and not to attract the attention of the Americans.

It is easy to give advice, but it is not so easy to disregard the social and economic forces which attract the same kind to form a community, society, and institution by themselves, for themselves, and of themselves.

As long as the Japanese immigrant is isolated among Americans or immigrants of different nationalities he welcomes the arrival of any Japanese. But even among people of the same blood, the desires for response and recognition are not satisfied as fully as among relatives or friends. Relatives are on the average more satisfactory than strangers, those who come from the same community or district in Japan are next best and tend to keep together more closely than those born or reared in different parts of the country. Thus they make their community in America as at home in Japan. Here in this community also selection and discrimination works according to the consciousness of kind. But in the case of the Gospel Club the selective agency was rather intellectual and purposive, but in the case of these communities, it is rather instinctive and emotional. Therefore, when a mere

acquaintance comes into a colony formed of close friends and relatives, or when a group of immigrants coming from the same community or district, is joined by an individual born in a different part of the country, the newcomer feels like an outsider. He naturally tends to call in his own relatives and his own friends, or people from his neighborhood. In a county of California I found that nearly every Japanese boarding house was patronized by those who came from the same district and each had a different dialect.

In public or ceremonial meetings, however, they use the standard Japanese language, but if the majority of a meeting is dominated by the people from a given district, their dialect is used even in public meetings. Accordingly, one who comes in from another district with a different dialect consciously or unconsciously adopts the dialect of the group he joins. And when he leaves them after one or two years' stay, a part of the dialect of the group is mixed in his own dialect. A Japanese community in California is usually composed of these camps, boarding house, or individuals from different districts. In a decade or two, these different dialects are mixed up. But in this peculiar mixture of dialects, we can notice a fact that dialects of several districts such as Hiroshima, Okayama, Fuknoka, and Wakayama are dominant in the mixed dialect. I once made a test of the Japanese children born in this country and brought up in a primary group with such a mixed dialect. The method of the

test was very rudimentary. I picked up several English sentences and words in translating which into Japanese I obtained various expressions. Fifteen girls and five boys were tested. The result of the test was as follows:

District	Number of people from different districts with different dialects.	Number of children tested whose parents came from different districts.	Number of words peculiar to the different dialects.
Hiroshima	80	3	62%
Fukuoka	67	2	30%
Wakayama	55	5	5%
Tokio	5	1	--
Tochigi	5	7	--
Fukushima	3	2	3%

In spite of the fact that the parents use their own dialect modified by other dialects, their children pick up different kinds of dialects from their little friends, and use them without hesitation even before a public or a ceremonial meeting. They do not know which is standard and which is local dialect.

There are many instances of a new colony springing up in connection with an increased demand for labor in a given locality and suddenly disappearing after a relatively short time, if the labor conditions grow worse. San Bernardino county of California is famous for Sunkist and Mission Oranges. Since about 1911 the number of Japanese laborers increased there

for the cultivation and cropping fruits. Several boarding houses were started, and in 1920 the Japanese Association of San Bernardino counted 850 members. From that time on, Mexican and Philipine laborers entered to compete with the Japanese laborers. Irrigation and pruning requires some skill, but picking does not. Therefore, unskilled Mexicans and Filipinos have gradually taken the place of the Japanese laborers by underbidding wages in the work of picking.

For this economic reason Japanese laborers rapidly decreased in that district; in 1924 the members of the Japanese Association of San Bernardino became 285, and in 1927 they were further reduced to 98. And very few out of this 98 were engaging in orange cultivation. Accordingly the boarding houses were deserted year by year, and in the summer of 1927 there was no Japanese boarding house left in that orange belt, while there were nine in 1920.

But if a colony is permanently suited to the Japanese, and later when the community is definitely settled, marriages and births gradually acquire the predominant importance. A community composed of single persons, not of families lacks unity and cohesion. But as soon as a family becomes a unit of a community the unity or cohesion is increased and it begins to assume many complex social activities such as appreciation, utilization, characterization, and socialization.

Personal accidents (such as sickness, death, birth,

marriage) are the most important factors to draw the people closer, and an organization is for mutual help gradually organized from the closer relationship. An appeal to a charitable institution is considered in Japan a mark of social downfall; it is even more of a disgrace in the eyes of Japanese immigrants here because of the feeling of racial dignity, and of group responsibility which is expected, or thought to be expected by the American milieu. Every Japanese who accepts the help of American institutions is thus considered not only disgraced personally as a pauper, but as digracing all Japanese immigrants. Therefore, no individual who has preserved some self-respect will accept help from an American institution unless his traditional conceptions have been obliterated owing to the new conditions and to insufficient contact with the Japanese group.

The mutual help among a small group is exercised sporadically from case to case, by means of collections made for the benefit of the individual or family in distress.

Naturally, the more settled and well-to-do members of the community on whom most of the burden falls are eager to substitute for this unregulated voluntary assistance a regular system of mutual help, and thus favor the establishment of an association which will diminish their risks. And so, among a large group it is carried out systematically by their own social organization for the purpose. In this change of attitude from a spontaneous assistance to a regulated mutual

help. We see a modification of their fundamental attitude toward the community itself. It means first that they began to cease to be members of their old Japanese milieu, in which an individual is not important as a member of society; he belongs to a family and in it he has the right to claim help. During the early stage of colonization the members of a community were almost all relatives and neighbors, but when it becomes larger the members are mostly strangers from different districts from whom one has no right to claim help. In the eyes of those who might assist the help which they have to give appears not as a natural duty to be unreflectively performed but as an artificial duty. However, their sympathy, dignity and duty to a fellow countryman push them to help, provided that their burden is as light as possible. This is the motive of establishing new organizations for mutual help. A second thing we can see in this change is that the attitude toward Japanese communities in America is always reflective. A third thing is that the motive of establishing an organization is not sympathy alone but also utility. These new attitudes are as a whole individualistic to a nation quite unfamiliar to the Japanese who have been accustomed to solid family system.

This new individualism acquired not in a primary group but later in a social milieu plays a very significant role in loosening social solidarity and demoralizing community life.

However, the problem of dependence among the Japanese immigrants is not so important yet because of the prime life of the men and women, although we have recently begun to realize the necessity of a more efficient organization for the increasing number of dependent persons.

There are three institutions in Southern California, and some in Northern California for the purpose. Thos institutions around Los Angeles are:

(1) The Jane Church Memorial Home for girls from two to eighteen years old. Capacity 10.

(2) The Mary Knoll House for children from two to eleven. Capacity 40.

(3) The Japanese children's Home for orphans from one to twelve. Capacity 35.

These institutions are supported and carried on by the Japanese people although they were first started by the American missionaries for the Japanese. The last organization was started by the local Japanese Association of Los Angeles by its mutual help department. But the work had been so enlarged that it became an independent institution several years ago. In 1927 the Japanese Charity Society of Los Angeles raised $11,000.00 in a three days' drive.

The social activity of Japanese communities is more than mutual help. It needs some pleasures. It needs some religious and educational satisfactions. It needs some instruction to newcomers. From these necessities, the local Japanese Associations were organized. Thus in a Japanese

community in California it is the "Association" which assumes the care of the hedonistic interests of the group by organizing picnics, festivals, giving theatrical representations, etc; of intellectual interests by inviting lecturers; of its religious interests by inviting pastors and priests from an older Japanese community in California.

It is a center of information for newcomers, visitors, travellers; it sends to the press news about any opportunities and events which may interest the local Japanese. It acts as a representative of the local community in its relation with the central institutions of Japanese society, and eventually also with American people and institutions for official and business transactions as an interpreter. The work of the local association has been very significant for the social cohesion of the community, and it gained extraordinary prestige and security from the Japanese consulates by endorsing the various certificates for the residents in the local community during the period of the Gentleman's Agreement. As to its abuse and loss of privilege, and its declining tendency, I will describe them later.

On the Pacific coast and in the neighboring states there are about eighty local Japanese Associations affiliated ~~to~~ in four central Associations. These Central Associations and their affiliating local "associations" are:

(1) The United Northern Japanese Association of Seattle. With this are affiliated some fifteen local associations in the States of Washington and Montana.

(2) The Japanese Association of Oregon. This comprises four local associations in Oregon and Idaho.

(3) The Japanese Association of America at San Francisco, comprising about forty local associations in northern California, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado.

(4) The Central Japanese Association of Southern California at Los Angeles, comprising twenty local bodies.

The agreement, or constitution of the Japanese Association of San Barnardino of California is typical of a local association, which states its own purpose as follows:

> "The purpose of this association shall be to elevate the character of the Japanese residing in America, to protect their rights and privileges, to promote their happiness and prosperity, to cultivate better understanding between the peoples of America and Japan."

The income of the local associations is derived from two sources:

(1) Membership dues, varying from two to ten dollars a year.

(2) Voluntary contributions on occasions of death, birth, marriage, and mostly on leaving this country for Japan.

The officers are elected by the general meeting once a year. They are: one president, one vice-president, two treasurers, two auditors, and several other trustees. The activities of the association are carried on by a salaried secretary in full time or part time. The total annual expenditure of the San Bernadino Japanese Association, which had about 100 members was $1800 in 1926, of which $900 was

raised by membership fee, and the rest of it, namely $600 was raised by contributions. The items and expenditure of each was as follows:

(1)	House Rent	$300.00
(2)	Salary to Secretary	600.00
(3)	Gas , electricity, water, telephone, etc.	100.00
(4)	Stationery and newspapers, etc.	100.00
(5)	Japanese Language school	800.00
(6)	Picture shows and picnics	150.00
(7)	Other social purposes	50.00

Japanese Language schools usually have their own budget, but in some local districts where the members are too few to carry on the institution by the tuition fee and donation, the Japanese Association or churches support or help it.

In large local communities a Japanese Language School is usually carried on by the parents of the pupils. In such a large community, there are several other organizations among the immigrants from the same districts of Japan, Usually these "prefectural associations" are entirely social, but if they are large enough, they dominate the Japanese Associations of the local communities politically. In the local Japanese Association of the Riverside county, there has been a long antagonism between the "Hiroshima" and "Wakayama" prefectural associations. This local contention has been created by the bosses of camps or boarding houses.

The Japanese Association of Los Angeles, the largest local Japanese Association in California is controlled by the "Hiroshima" prefectural Association.

The establishment of the Japanese churches is not on the initiative of Japanese in most cases. There are not so many Christians in local communities. But in some local communities which are surrounded by an American Christian atmosphere such as Riverside or Pomona, or in which leaders are pious good Christians as Cochular Valley, they do establish their own churches. Because they do not feel at home in a local American church whose language and mores are different and, with the members of the church, they have no social connections. They get little encouragement for the various common activities which they wish to initiate and obtain little prestige by their achievement. Although one is already Americanized individually one cannot get out of the English speaking churches any satisfaction of one's social wishes. Therefore, they want to have their own church, though on the religious side its organization is similar to the American church.

Such a Japanese church once established voluntarily by the local community, opens new fields of social activity, widens the sphere of interests and calls for more and better social cooperation. For the ideal of the development of the community, which did not consciously exist while the community had no organ and was only vaguely conceived and intermittently

realized during the period when the local Japanese Associations played the leading role, becomes now clearly formulated as the common ideal of the whole group and relentlessly pursued.

However, these cases are very rare. Mostly they are started by the American churches with more or less reluctant support of the local community. The mother churches send preachers, Sunday School teachers, and lecturers. But very few immigrants can understand them. Therefore, Missionary Boards send the Japanese preachers to take care of the churches. The result is much better. However, as the church is not the product of the community, they have less control over its management than over that of a Japanese Association or their own church, which they have founded by free cooperation. The preachers, far from limiting their activities to their religious affairs, favor developing consistently in all social activities.

The local bosses who have been dominating the community through prefectural association, or local Japanese Associations are not devoted enough to sacrifice their social recognition and give up their position of leadership.

This antagonism between ignorant bosses and green preachers is further augmented by the misunderstanding on the side of the Missionary Board, which carried matters with a high hand disregarding the wishes and attitudes of the Japanese community in the name of "Americanization."

Thus it turns the whole community against the church. The antagonism is still further increased by giving a chance to Buddhists. They are not aggressive in fact for the development of their parishes. Most of the Japanese priests are as idle and self-contented in this country as they are in Japan. Although we sometimes notice an aggressive missionary movement among the young priests. At present they do not appeal to youth at all. But the older folks who are not so skeptical as the younger feel more at home in Buddhism. Its moral codes are not so severe as Christianity, and if a temple is once established, they can control it under their own scheme. These rather unreligious motives give an advantage to the Buddhists when a cleavage occurs in a local community between the Community leaders and the church.

There are about fifty-three Japanese Christian churches and seventy-six Buddhist temples in California; but the total members are 4,000 and 15,000 respectively. As a matter of fact, the members of the churches are more educated and progressive than the members of the temples, and the churches are doing much greater work, religious, social, and educational than the Buddhists. English night schools, sewing schools, and cooking schools are organized by many churches for the development of the local communities.

The denominational distinctions do not appeal so much to the Japanese people in Christianity as in Buddhism; the latter has five different sects in America; East-Honganji,

West-Honganji, Soutow, Shingon, and Nichiren.

There are two Shinto shrines in Los Angeles, with a membership of 160. But Shintoism is not so influential as Christianity or Buddhism among the Japanese immigrants, though it is the original Japanese Religion. Shintoism, having ancestor worship as its central ideal, seems to me losing its power in proportion to the falling of the feudal and family system and rising tide of individualism throughout Japan.

In 1903 a Japanese Language School was organized in San Francisco for the Japanese children born in this country. Since then, the institutions for the same purpose have been established in various places. At the present time there are about 120 Japanese Language Schools with an aggregate attendance of 8,144 peoples in Southern California. As a whole, California it is twice as much.

According to the copyright by the Japanese Consulate of Los Angeles in 1931, there are:

The total Japanese population in Southern California	41,571
The number of Japanese-American in S. California	20,354
The number of Japanese Language Schools in S. Calif.	120
Teachers in all schools	200
Students in all schools	8,144
Boys	3,633
Girls	4,511
The number of their family	4,646
Annual expenditure for education	$253,581

In a large community, the school is planned large enough so that it may be used as a class room and a hall for community

meetings. In a small community a private house is rented or bought for school purposes. Sometimes a church or a Japanese Association includes the Japanese Language School.

The children attend the Japanese Language School in the afternoon after they finish the public school. In a larger community which is able to support the school and teachers, they have five days' school a week, but in a smaller community, they have only three or just Saturday. The curriculum is divided into reading, writing, penmenship, and dictation. The fundamental object, therefore, of the Language School is to teach the child to speak Japanese properly, to read it at least in a limited way, and to write at least simple letters. Teachers are mainly college students. Japanese and English are both employed as teaching the language while the pupils usually use English at school and at play.

Good or bad, the Japanese language school is a social product of the immigrant group and satisfies important needs of the latter. The purpose of the Japanese language school has been changed by decades in proportion to the change of attitude of the environing American milieu.

When it was established first in 1903, it did not appeal to the public at all because of the small number of the second generation. Only those who found it very inconvenient not to have their children speak Japanese at home voluntarily started teaching Japanese at a private house and sent their children, because they had no time to teach at home.

This simple motive had gradually appealed to the public in proportion to the increase of the second generation of school age. However, the public motive of the Japanese language school was greatly changed by the anti-Japan agitation in California. Those who had a pessimistic idea of the future of the Japanese race in America began preparation in order to return to Japan.

As a preparation it was necessary to teach Japanese to their children so that they might enter the public schools of Japan. With this conscious purpose the teaching of the language at school became systematic, and besides the children were taught at home. At this stage, however, those who had no intention to return to their homeland remained indifferent to the question. But once the problem of the Japanese language school became the central target of the anti-Japanese agitation among Americans, the Japanese public opinion separated into two camps:

(1) The diplomatic official camp upheld the anti-Japanese language school attitude.

(2) The other attitude was rather nationalistic.

Mr. Ohashi, Japanese consul at Seattle, and later at Los Angeles was the champion of the former camp, while the Japanese Associations, local, and central, were fighting for the latter.

At last the day came when the nonquota Japanese Exclusion Act was passed by Congress in 1924. This was a severe blow to the diplomatic official camp, and it has brought a reconciliation between those who were preparing for returning

home and those who were not. This new reconciliation and cohesion has created a new motive for the Japanese language school. That is to save the second generation from racial humiliation by introducing the cultural attainments of the old country. This new culturalism has necessarily changed the curriculum of teaching from mere reading and writing to historical, ethical, and aesthetic teachings.

However, the most essential point is neither the preparatory character of the language school, nor even the fact that it serves to preserve in the young generation the language and cultural traditions of the old country; it is the function of the language school as a factor of the social unity of the immigrant community (1) among the immigrants themselves, and (2) between the old and the young.

The school is a new, concrete, institutional bond between the immigrants. Its first effect is to bring them together, for it has been noticed that proximity to the school is nearer than proximity to church. Christians, Buddhists, and others send their children to the language school. Further, the education of the children is an interest common to all members, and this community is fostered by the participation of the parents and other volunteers in all school celebrations and festivities. But even more important than this unification of the old generation is the bond which the language school creates between the old and the young generation. The children who have attained nine or ten years find it much easier to

talk English than Japanese, because it is the common language to be used at public school, at play ground, in the street, at play or work, which constitutes the greater part of their daily life. When they have attained fifteen and over, they can neither express their thoughts nor their ideas adequately in Japanese, nor understand the old generation except in very simple matters. The lack of mutual understanding through the lack of knowledge of Japanese follows the lack of respect for their parents, and the discipline at home becomes gradually loose. Thus the children who go to public school become nearly completely estranged from their parents, while the language school, although the time of teaching is very short, in a large measure prevents this estrangement, not only because it makes the children acquainted with their parents' religion, language and national history, but also because it inculcates respect for these traditional values and the nation from which they came. This creates self-respect among them, and saves them from humiliation and degradation which results from deep impressions of racial prejudice upon the young mind. Moreover the school is not only a common bond between all the members of the old generation but is also considered by the young generation as their own institution, thus fostering their interest in the affairs of the Japanese community. The Japanese language school is a necessary expression of the tendency of the immigrant community to self-preservation and self-development.

Such a large community as Los Angeles which is the economic and social center of the Japanese immigrants in Southern California, has gone further still and established a high school last year.

Social control of the Japanese communities in California is incomparably looser than that of Japan. The Japanese community in California does not claim to absorb the individual completely; it is not necessarily and directly affected by everything he does in his private circle or in his contacts with American society. It needs only a part of his activity for its social purposes, and so long as he remains able to perform this part and does not draw others into conflict with American social opinion and law, it matters little to the community or the local association what else he does or does not do. In the community of Japan the interest of the group is to know everything about the individual and to control his entire behavior, whereas the Japanese community in California is to leave out of consideration anything in the individual's past and present which has no direct bearing on his positive social obligations so as not to impair the growth of its institutions by scrutinizing too closely the private life of those who can be useful in its public affairs.

In such a situation it is almost impossible to subordinate all individuals in all respects to the influence of the group. The methods reflectively or unreflectively used for the purpose of social control among the Japanese community in

California are: (1) to attract every individual into the sphere of public activities and to open for him the way to social prominence in some field, and (2) to institutionalize as many activities as possible: picnics, concerts, motion pictures, lecturers, festivals, ceremonies, and almost all the activities are given in the names of churches, schools, Japanese Associations, Y.M.C.A. or Y.M.A., girls' clubs, boys' clubs, women's associations, etc. And almost everybody of the community has some special role in these activities. The leaders of the community are very careful not to impair the dignity of a member by omitting him from such activities. By appointing an individual to a public role, we can satisfy his desire for recognition, and make him more responsible not only for his own part, but also for his daily life. The consciousness as a public man makes him arrange his private life lest some one should criticise him. By thus giving the individual favorable attention and gradually inducing him to take voluntarily a place among the leaders, the community controls him better than by making him a passive object of its ordering and forbidding regulations. For this purpose, the local Japanese association of Riverside County has provided in their constitution that a given person may not be elected more than twice as an official. That is to give an equal chance to anybody to become an officer some day if he remains a member of the Association, whereas the local

Japanese Association of San Bernardino County regulates the matter upon the basis of unlimited electoral votes. The former tends to appointments by the community leaders, while the latter tends to put the "able man first." The moralizing influence of public dignitaries who owe their positions to election and are raised above the level by social opinion is more noticeable than that noticed among those who are appointed by the leaders without basing upon the recognition of the community.

In order to give its personalities and activities official publicity, the local community has its own mimeograph type press to circulate among the members of the community, and every community of a pretty large size over 100 families has an agent of correspondence for the papers, daily or weekly, or magazine of neighboring Japanese community centers such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento, Fresno, or Stocton.

There are five daily papers, six weeklies, and thirteen monthly magazines published in California in the Japanese language. These are mostly published in the community centers above quoted. The characteristic of these papers is that they are chiefly interested in the local life of the Japanese communities. Three fourths of the material bears on the local life, and only one fourth is for the general news of the world. The local news does not include the activities of the local American milieu. This is a manifest-

ation of the fact that the Japanese immigrants are not so interested in American society as they are in themselves. This, however, does not mean that they are all indifferent to the environing American milieu: On the contrary, very few Japanese persons do not read American papers. In 1927, I found that 120 copies of Japanese papers and sixty-five American papers (both daily) were read in a Japanese community of San Bernardino of about ninety families, including 300 adults.

This localization of interest also manifests a very important fact that the perpetuation, expression, control, and unification of the social life of each particular primary community is more needed at present than the unification and centralization of these primary communities into a wider community.

Another important feature of the social control of the Japanese community in California is that it is mostly based upon praise rather than blame. They have no power over an undesirable person except to submit him to the American legal institutions when there is an evidence of legal offense. Except in such cases the community can do nothing with him. From 1907 to 1924 the Japanese Associations were very influential among the Japanese as a result of the Gentlemen's Agreement. Since the enactment of the Gentlemen's Agreement, June 1908 the classes of laborers entitled to receive passports from the Japanese Government were former residents in America, parents, wives or children of residents, and settled agriculturists. In order to act in good faith the

Japanese Government ordered the Japanese Consulates in America to investigate and make sure that the applicant of a passport was qualified. But the investigation of these facts was a task which it was impossible for the consulates to undertake. Consequently, it delegated 1909 this cumbersome work to the local Japanese Associations. If a Japanese wished to obtain a certificate of residence in order to go to Japan for a visit, he went to the Japanese Association of his locality, and applied for it. The Association inquired into the history and status of the applicant, and endorsed or rejected the application according to the result of the investigation.

This endorsing work assigned by the Japanese Consulates gave an absolute power to the local associations, So far as it was concerned with the status of the local immigrants. nobody could disregard the power of a local association.

The local Japanese Association of San Bernardino, a committee meeting of September 1915, resolved to warn the owner of a hotel to turn out the Mexican prostitutes he kept in his hotel within a week, and if he would not obey they would strike his name off the roll of the association, and besides he should be reported to the Japanese Consulate as well as to the chief of police of the town.

This influential power which lasted until 1924 when the Gentlemen's Agreement expired, made a great contribution to social control, although sometimes it created some despotism and scandal cases.

The expiration of the Gentlemen's Agreement meant the

expiration of the influence of the Japanese Association, because the certificate of the Japanese Association was no more needed by the Japanese Government.

Since then Japanese communities have lost their power of social control. When they had become powerless there was no incentive. Therefore, the social control of the Japanese community by the method either of praise or blame is not so remarkable at present as it was before.

From 1907 to 1924 the Japanese Associations were very influential as a result of the Gentlemen's Agreement. During that period a local Japanese Association was trusted by the local Japanese consulate to endorse the personality certificate of an individual determining whether he will be legally admitted to this country or not. If he was a settled farmer he could get a passport issued by the Japanese Government as "non-laborer" when he went back to Japan for a wife. If he was not able to get a non-immigrant passport in nine out of ten cases he could not return to this country. And the certificate of the local Japanese Association was the only evidence to introduce oneself as a "legally admitted gentleman" who was qualified to go back to his own country to get a wife or to call his family from Japan.

CHAPTER V. LOCAL AND CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF JAPANESE SOCIETY IN CALIFORNIA.

(a) The tendencies of the local Japanese Associations.

(b) The aim of four central Japanese Associations.

(c) Our Americanization movement.

(d) The financial sources of the Central Association.

(e) Critical year for the Association.

(f) Their aim for the Second Generation.

CHAPTER V

Local and Central Organization of Japanese Society in California.

There is no race which does not consider its own growth and preservation an important matter. Professor Giddings, dividing political ideas into primary and secondary according to ends to be achieved or conserved, and means to the ends, says:

> "First among the primary political notions is an uncritical idea of the group or population itself, and of its self-preservation. The self-existence of the group may be instinctively felt only or it may be rationally conceived."

The local Japanese Association is the institution whose function with reference to its members consists precisely in preserving the racial solidarity against possible disorganization in a racially different milieu. If we follow the history of various local Japanese Associations, we notice that, however widely different might have been originally the special aims--religious, educational, economic, artistic, political, hedonistic--for which many of these associations were founded, all of them have gradually converged into one essential type and almost every new association which is started now becomes moulded at once into the same general form. This fact may be due to lack of inventiveness resulting from the scarcity of prominent leaders; but it is clear

that since of all the models of organizations which were tried during the last twenty years this one model alone survived and developed, whereas all others have disappeared, it must be best adapted to the conditions under which the Japanese social body was created. We shall therefore study these typical social unites before we pass to investigate the wider organizations namely central Japanese associations constructed on the basis of local Japanese associations.

The free and isolated local associations were, of course, the original force matrix. Even now as we have seen, every new association is established on the initiative of a free local association. All the wider organizations arose through an expansion or federation of pre-existing isolated local associations. The local and central Japanese Associations have one official purpose in common, the preservation and development of the Japanese race in a racially different milieu.

This does not involve primarily any definite attitude toward the question of political allegiance, of "patriotism" in the proper sense of the term. Several local groups at first tried to keep in America this tradition of exclusive political allegiance to Japan. In 1892 the "Japanese Federation" was organized with seven local groups in San Francisco, where at that time, only six hundred Japanese were living. This Federation was led by a few political exiles from Japan. But the great majority of the immigrants

here were economic immigrants, who came individually to improve their economic situation. Besides the level of education of the great majority was not so high as to take interest in political affairs. Moreover, most of them had never consciously participated in Japanese national life in the old country and, therefore, the concept of Japan was of an almost purely aesthetic interest whose motive power was very small as compared with the many and complex practical interests connected with the immediate social environment. The Chino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War brought the Japanese national problem for the first time with real vividness to the consciousness of the Japanese masses in America, but still they did not give rise to a central organization for the integration of the masses for the purpose of patriotism.

This weakness in the Japanese political tendencies of the average local association is by no means the result of a conflict between Japanese and American patriotism, simply because the local groups have little immediate interest in it. If these units are much less interested in things beyond those connected with their immediate milieu a central organization can hardly have any political significance in those things. Even the most "idealistic" organization tends to reconcile its wider aims with the more popular, and stronger though narrower purposes of its local units. The Japanese American national consciousness as distinct from the purely Japanese is the result of the

reconciliation. For the same reason the purely patriotic Japanese Federation disappeared in a few years.

The nationalistic Japanese tendencies of the local Japanese Associations have thus not a political, but a racial significance. Their aim is to preserve the racial solidarity by which to promote the welfare of its members for self-preservation. It was May 7, 1900 that the first voice of Anti-Japanese agitation was expressed by the mass meeting of the Pacific Laborers' League in San Francisco, and it was June 18 of the same year that the first Japanese Conference was organized by the several local associations. As soon as the Russo-Japanese War ended, the American newspapers' opinion began to manifest hostility and several mass meetings were held for the anti-Japanese agitation.

Considering the situation very serious, the "Japanese Conference" called the thirty-three local associations in California to San Francisco (May 18--20, 1905). On that meeting the Japanese Conference was disorganized and the "Japanese Confederation of America" was newly organized by the thirty-three local associations.

At the general meeting of the Japanese Confederation of America in 1906 they resolved the following:

(1) To promote intimacy between Japanese and Americans.

(2) To stimulate more emigrants from Japan to meet the labor demand of America. "We think it is the way to contribute to American industry as well as to Japanese racial development."

(3) To get the privilege of naturalization.

(4) To get the right of marriage with the whites. (According to the record of the Confederation).

It is clear from the above resolutions that the motive and the aim of the Japanese Confederation of America the central organization was chiefly racial. The local association is the institution whose function consists in strengthening the racial solidarity against possible disorganization in a racially different milieu. In accordance with its function its main internal activities are those which from the standpoint of purely objective results would seen either subordinate to other aims or simply incidental--formal meetings and social entertainments. The significance of the formal meeting is not in anyway exhausted by the affairs which the group discusses and settles. With regard to its psychological effects its most important part is the actual, direct social connection which is established between the members by the very fact that they are together and in discussion. The parliamentary formalism which is observed at all regular meetings of the Japanese societies plays also a much more important social role that of a mere practical method of efficient and speedy conclusion. It is for the consciousness of the average member almost equivalent to a ritual. Further, the elections of officers and of special committees give ample food to the desire for recognition.

As social entertainments their role is very clear;

by bringing individuals together on the ground of common pleasure and in a mood of heightened susceptibility to positive impressions, they act as powerful stimulants of social response, particularly among less educated individuals. The emphasis both at formal meetings and at social entertainments helps maintain the spirit of racial solidarity. Thus meetings are always conducted and speeches made in Japanese. Great importance from the standpoint of national, or rather racial preservation must also be given to the role which Japanese music and literature play in the social life of the local communities. Theatrical presentations and moving pictures help the racial solidarity.

However, the purpose of racial preservation, so emphatically put forward by all the local groups in their public expressions, is in fact not a sufficient basis of organization. The political, aesthetic, hedonistic aims which it implies, however necessary they may be to make an existing association fully satisfactory to its members, have in most cases proved insufficient to maintain a "society" regularly active for any longer period of time. On the level of culture, and their fundamental motive of emigration the economic interest and security of living are the strongest and the most general drives of the average Japanese emigrant.

In order to satisfy these fundamental wishes of the immigrants, the Japanese Confederation of America was discontinued in 1908 and the Japanese Association of America

was newly organized with thirty-three local Japanese Associations. It established three departments agricultural, commercial, and industrial--for the economic development and security of the Japanese in California.

As soon as a Japanese Consulate was established in 1915 in Los Angeles the Central Japanese Association of Southern California was organized by twenty-one local Japanese Associations.

On the Pacific coast and in the neighboring states at present there are four Central Japanese Associations, each affiliating with local Japanese Associations. These Central organizations are:

(1) The Japanese Association of America at San Francisco, with forty local Japanese Associations.

(2) The Central Japanese Association of Southern California at Los Angeles with twenty-one affiliating local associations.

(3) The United Northern Japanese Association of Seattle with some fifteen local Japanese Associations.

(4) The Japanese Association of Oregon. This comprises four local associations.

As the organization and work of the four central associations are practically the same we may illustrate them with those of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco.

The agreeement or constitution of the Association states its purpose as follows:

"The purpose of this Association shall be to elevate the character of the Japanese residing

> in America to protect their rights and privileges, to promote their happiness and prosperity, and cultivate better understanding between the peoples of Japan and the United States of America."

In the pursuit of this purpose, the Association has undertaken various tasks. Here we have noticed the change of purposes according to the development of the inter-racial relations between the Japanese and the whites. The prototype of the central Japanese Association was originated for the purely racial preservation. This was the conscious and unconscious purpose. But later specialized motives such as economic development and security of living became the recognized purposes. For attaining these purposes a better adaptation to the environing milieu brings a better result. The Japanese Association of America took up this educational task as their purpose. Later the anti-Japanese League made the Japanese associations a target of their agitation as double government in America. In order to meet the situation they found it wiser to rationalize their motive of the educational work as a part of the Americanization movement. Later they claimed to be an efficient agency of the Americanization movement. This is clearly a rationalized purpose; the motive is to develop a better adaptation to the environment for a better self-preservation of the Japanese race in economic, social, and cultural spheres.

A pamphlet published by the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco describes the work as follows:

"One of the secretaries appears before the Immigration Office every time Japanese arrive at the port of San Francisco, and not only aids them through all the formalities of landing, but also sees that each newcomer understands and practices his new duties as a resident in the new land. Our aim is to protect and aid the newcomer through cooperation with every institution connected with immigration."

The uplift of the Japanese residents in America has received the unfailing attention and emphasis of the Association from the very beginning of the landing.

At first this movement took the form of what was termed social education and economic development. The purpose of this work is to impart to our fellow countrymen elementary facts of American life, to teach them that assimilation is the first step for their success, and to convince them that by contributing to the national interest of America they can attain their own development. Among the more important activities of this nature are the following: women's meetings, whose chief purpose is to call attention of the Japanese women in America to their social position and the education of their children; publication of pamphlets with particular reference to birth and care of babies; anti-gambling campaigns and lectures on general social betterment.

"Our Americanization movement has been virtually the same as the program of the American government. However, the following two points may be stated on which are placed special emphasis; first to encourage the learning of the English language and to furnish the necessary and suitable equipment for this particular work; second, to impart the knowledge of American life to the Japanese people

so that they may easily understand Americanism.

> "As to the first point, namely, to encourage the learning of the English language, we made special efforts to facilitate this difficult work by employing every means at our command. We encouraged its steady among the old settlers, and helped organize classes for women and children and to secure proper teachers for them. We call special attention to the resolution which was adopted in February 1918. In order to educate the children and young men and women coming from Japan in English and to lead them toward American ideals the parents were asked to pledge themselves to send them to public schools not later than one year after their arrival in this country. This work was carefully supervised by the local affiliated associations."

The most significant factor which gave the local and central Japanese Associations a strong influence upon the local Japanese, however, was not the educational, cultural and economic factors but it was an official work of the associations assigned by the local Japanese Consulates. Since the enactment of the Gentlemen's Agreement, June 1908 the classes of laborers entitled to receive passports from the Japanese government were "former residents in America" parents, wives, or children of residents, and "settled agriculturists."

In order to act in good faith the Japanese government ordered the Japanese Consulate in America to investigate and make sure that the applicant of a passport was qualified or entitled to receive it. But the investigation of these facts was a task which it was impossible for the consulates to undertake. Consequently, it delegated (1909) this cumbersome

work to the local Japanese Associations. If a Japanese wished to obtain a certificate of residence in order to go to Japan for a visit, he would go to the Japanese Association of his locality and apply for it. The association inquired into the history and status of the applicant, and endorsed or rejected the application according to the result of the investigation. However, it must be explained that no Japanese Association issued any certificates. The certificates were issued by the Japanese consulates and the local Japanese Association which was acquainted with the history and status of the applicant made an endorsement for the following facts:

(1) Application for a certificate, showing that its holder was a resident of America and was going to Japan with the intention of coming back here.

(2) Application for a certificate permitting its holder to send for his or her parents, wife or children, as provided in the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

(3) Application for a certificate, showing that the holder was a settled agriculturalist.

(4) Application for a certificate, permitting the holder to postpone the required physical examination for enrollment in the Japanese army.

(5) Application for a certificate providing that the holder was a Japanese lawfully admitted to America.

This endorsing work assigned by the Japanese Government, gave an absolute power to the local Associations so far as it was concerned with the status of the local immigrants. If the Association refused to endorse, an applicant could not

visit his native country, nor send for his wife or children, or he had to go back to Japan for physical examination for enrollment in the Army. It would be too much to say that no Association has ever abused the authority thus delegated by the Consulates, but on the whole, the system worked admirably, and to the satisfaction of the immigration authorities of the United States.

The tremendous growth and development of the local Japanese Associations naturally gave authoritative power to the central Japanese Associations, because the latter were dependent upon the former. The total annual income of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco for 1930 was something like $19,000. The financial sources of the central association were as follows:

(1) 15% of membership dues collected by local Associations. The income from this source for the Association of America in 1920 amounted to $9,000. The central Associations have no members of their own; their members being the local Associations.

(2) Approximately three-fourths of the fees collected by the local Associations were for endorsing applications for various certificates above mentioned. In 1920 this amounted to $61,500.

(3) Voluntary contributions; these amounted to $3,500.

These figures show that eighty per cent of the total income of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco was derived from the affiliating local Associations. In turn, the central Association sent the agricultural experts

lawyers, and lecturers to the local Associations for the development of the local communities.

The agreement of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco is typical of other central organizations.

Article 1: This Association shall be known as the Japanese Association of America.

Article 2: The purpose of the Association shall be to elevate the character of all Japanese residing in America, to protect their rights and privileges, to promote their happiness and prosperity, and to cultivate better understanding between the peoples of Japan and the United States of America.

Article 3: This Association is organized by the local Japanese Associations within the jurisdiction of the Japanese Consulate-General of San Francisco. The requirements and qualifications of affiliation between this Association and each local Association shall be decided by the Executive Council.

Article 4: The office of the Association shall be in the city of San Francisco, State of California.

Article 5: There shall be the following officers of the Association to wit: a President, a Vice President, a Committee on Finance consisting of four members: a committee on Management, consisting of seven members, and a Board of Directors, consisting of fifteen members. The officers of this Association shall not receive any compensation.

Article 6: The President, the Vice President and the Committee on Management shall be elected by the Board of Directors from among the members of each local Association affiliated with this Association. The Committee on Finance shall be selected by the President. The Board of Directors shall be elected at the Delegate Convention.

Article 7: The term of Office for the officers shall be one year, but they may be reelected for another term. A vacancy in any office or position shall be filled for the unexpired term by the Board of Directors.

Article 8: The President shall preside over the meetings of the Committee on Management and the Board of Directors: he shall supervise each and every affair of the Association, and he shall represent the Association in general. The Vice President shall assist the President and perform the latter's duties during his absence. The Committee on Management shall organize itself into a meeting of the Committee on Management and shall manage the business of the Association.

Article 9: The Board of Directors shall organize the meeting of the Board of Directors and shall elect the President, the Vice President, and the Committee on Management; it shall also carry out the business of Association according to the resolution adopted by the Delegate Convention.

Article 10: The Committee on Management shall meet once a month. A special meeting on the said Committee may be called by the President when he shall deem it necessary or at the request of one-third or more votes of the members of the Committee. The Board of Directors shall meet four times a year, to wit: in January, April, July and October.

Article 11: The secretarial staff, of the Association shall consist of a General Secretary, several Assistants, and several clerks, and they shall be appointed by the President and with the consent of the Committee on Management.

Article 12: The General Secretary shall execute the general business of the Association under the supervision of the President; the Assistant Secretary and Clerks shall execute their respective duties under the instruction of the General Secretary.

Article 13: The Delegate Convention shall be constituted by the representatives of the local affiliated Japanese Associations according to the following appointments:-

Japanese Association of San Francisco	6
" " " Fresno	3
" " " Sacramento Valley	3
" " " Stockton	2
" " " Oakland	2
Other Associations each	1

Article 14: The Delegate Committee shall meet once a year. A special Delegate Convention may be called by the President when he shall deem it necessary or at the request of five or more affiliated Associations.

Article 15: The Delegate Convention shall consider and act upon the important business of the Association; shall discuss and approve the financial budget for the corresponding year, and shall examine the record and audit the financial report.

Article 16: A majority of the Delegates shall constitute a quorum of the Delegate Convention, while a majority of the delegates present shall constitute a quorum for the business of the Committee.

Article 17: The current expenditures of the Association shall be met by the avowed dues from local affiliated Associations, certificates, dues, and voluntary contributions, etc.

These four central bodies hold a conference annually, each sending two delegates. Usually the conference lasts two or three days, and discusses matters of common interest.

The local and central Japanese Associations were products of the social need for the self-preservation of the Japanese people in California. But their extraordinary growth and

development since 1909 was not due to the increasing interest of the immigrants in these organizations. It was not an inner necessity that developed them so rapidly, but the official power assigned by the Government. The cooperation given by the members was not voluntary, but rather constrained. The local association was not "for," "by" and "of" the local Japanese. In a word, the Japanese associations did not depend upon the community itself, but rather upon the governmental authority which in fact had nothing to do with the real communal life. Therefore, it is natural enough that both the local and central Japanese Associations became almost powerless and uninfluential as soon as the gentlemen's agreement became null. The Japanese government is not responsible for the status of the applicants for passports any more, because the United States government is entirely responsible for it. As a result the endorsement of the local Japanese Associations is no more necessary for the Japanese government.

1925 was the critical year for the central Japanese Associations. They had lost the authority given by the government, and the new interests had not yet been created as substitutes. The leaders of the organizations had been neglecting the real needs of their communities. While they were abusing their authority, many important problems were calling for solution. Among these problems, the most outstanding one was the Second Generation problem.

The second generation, unless brought up in direct

and continuous contact with better aspects of American life than those with which the immigrant community is usually acquainted, degenerates further still, both because the parents have less to give than they had received themselves in the line of social principles and emotions and because the children brought to American cities have more freedom and less respect for their parents.

The second generation is better adapted intellectually to the practical conditions of American life, but their moral system is narrower on the average and their social interests still shallower. It is a well known fact that the number of crimes is proportionately much larger among the children of immigrants than among the immigrants themselves. It is the consequence of a weak primary group relation. The question is not how the young generation loses a life organization that it has acquired, but how it ever acquires a life-organization at all. For then it proves that, while in relatively well-organized and isolated Japanese communities in California particularly in provincial towns, the economically most settled, and socially most active part of the population can still impart to the growing youth a certain amount of normal and vital principles of behavior; there is a large proportion of immigrant children, particularly in large cities, whose home and community conditions are such that their behavior is never socially regulated. No life organ-

ization worthy of the name is ever imposed upon them. If personal character is the product of social education acting upon a given temperamental foundation, such individuals in the second generation in the most radical cases have no moral character, good or bad. They are originally in a condition of passive or active wildness in which behavior is not controlled by social customs and beliefs but directed and conditioned by temperamental tendencies and swayed by momentary moods.

This situation had received attention until the racial discrimination of the United States Congress against the Japanese was manifested in the 1924 immigration law. All the Japanese had been treating racial discrimination in California as local, but now they had to face the unexplainable fact which stood before them as a public sentiment of America.

The first generation had been able to stand bravely against this racial prejudice; they have pride in their own culture and blood. But the second generation had nothing to compensate for their sense of inferiority. In 1926, an American teacher asked the children of a grammar school in Southern California which nation they thought was the greatest among Americans, British and Japanese peoples. There were five Japanese pupils, and their answers were all similar; Americans first, British second, and Japanese last. This racial humiliation is really serious not only for racial

self preservation, but also for their life-organization, and character building.

Now the Japanese Associations (local and central) have brought this problem before the attention of the Japanese people. There is no group which does not consider its own growth an important matter and when the purposes for which it has been formed have either been attained or lost their vitality the social power of the group creates another aim for its own existence. Thus the Japanese Associations have made the second generation problem their slogan. They were successful in creating a public opinion through the newspapers and lectures. There had been some aspiration for the uplifting of the second generation in local groups, but it was weak and scattered. In each particular local group the wider educational aspirations were not strong enough as compared with the immediate local interests to produce spontaneously any important actions, but they were not lacking entirely, and now the Central Japanese Associations concentrating scattered tendencies could achieve results which the local group acting separately would never reach.

Thus, shifting their aim from the first generation to the second, the Japanese Association set up the aim of inculcating Japanese culture in the second generation to develop self respect. As a result of these aspirations many Japanese Language Schools were established in many districts. Since 1924, about forty institutions of that

sort were newly organized by the support of the local Associations (partly or entirely).

While the Central Associations were enjoying official authority, the long neglected local needs caused the organization of various institutions according to the specialized functions. The agricultural and commercial departments of the Central Japanese Associations were divorced from them, and Agricultural Associations and Chambers of Commerce were organized independently. And now the educational department is specialized. Thus the chief aims of the Japanese Associations have been specialized, and they are gradually losing the basis of their existence.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION.

(a) Their standard of living.

(b) The future problems of Japanese immigrants.

(c) Japanese second generation in California.

CHAPTER VI.

Conclusion

One of the allegations which has been often made by the Anti-Japanese agitation is that these people are economically undesirable because of their low standard of living; that the Japanese immigrant because of his very meager diet and his mode of living can work for very low wages, thus becoming a competitor of the more highly paid American labor, and in a position to underbid an American workman.

The question arises as to whether or not the Japanese desire a low standard of living and for this reason have submitted willingly to a low wage system. America has digested millions of immigrants whose sole purpose in coming to America was to better their economic position. They came here because they believed a higher degree of opportunity existed and that they could sell their labor for a higher wage than that existing in their respective countries. Here we find the Japanese wish similar to that of other immigrants. He comes to this country to secure a better opportunity. To say that the Japanese are satisfied with a low standard of living and for that reason they are willing to work for a pittance is preposterous. Anyone, who has had any experience with Japanese labor can

testify to the fact that the Japanese not only will not work for a low wage, but are practically never satisfied with their wage no matter what it be.

Now, the popular conception is that the Japanese are willing to work long hours. It is true that the Japanese are exceedingly industrious and they are not sticklers as to hours, providing they are paid for their overtime. In view of the difference in opinions it is well to consider actual statistics on the subject. They are available and demonstrate conclusively that the Japanese laborers in agriculture receive somewhat more than the white laborer in the same industry.

The following report compares the average monthly wages paid by Japanese employers in 22 countries in the northern part of California during 1929. It was tabulated by the Japanese Association of America from employers' reports, and a total of 758 agricultural and 715 commercial replies were analyzed.:

AGRICULTURAL

Counties	Japanese With Board	Japanese Without Board	White With Board	White Without Board
Alameda	$ 95.00	$120.00	$100.00	$118.00
Butte	103.00	130.00	100.00	120.00
Contra Costa	103.50	128.00	112.00	121.00
Colusa	120.00	153.70	- - -	187.00
Fresno	95.50	126.45	80.00	130.00
Inyo	100.00	135.00	85.00	120.00
Kings	105.00	121.70	- - -	127.00
Monterey	86.25	145.83	101.70	135.00
Napa	75.00	120.00	80.00	100.00
Placer	120.00	145.00	- - -	112.00
Stanislaus	130.00	161.00	125.00	155.00
San Joaquin	101.80	119.00	102.00	119.00
Solano	96.10	117.80	89.50	111.60
Santa Cruz	120.00	140.00	95.00	145.00
San Francisco	100.00	123.00	95.00	123.00
Santa Clara	75.00	100.00	75.00	111.60
San Mateo	105.00	120.00	120.00	150.00
San Benito	110.80	134.08	87.00	133.04
Sacramento	114.00	140.85	122.05	131.00
Tulare	82.40	- - -	82.40	- - -
Yuba	101.20	127.00	103.30	135.00
AVERAGE	$101.91	$130.66	$ 97.22	$128.32

A majority of the white labor employed by Japanese farmers is skilled. Consequently the average wage of the Japanese farmhand, a majority of whom are unskilled, is lower than that of the whites. When Japanese unskilled labor is compared with unskilled white labor, however, the Japanese average is higher than the white.

In commercial occupation the Japanese can not do as well as the white for some very obvious reasons. In the first place, the majority of them are not skilled. They have had but little opportunity to acquire American methods and skill, and then, as a general rule, they are very much more contented in agricultural employment, which will eventually lead them to either ownership or lease of land. Economic independence through agriculture is the basic hope of the majority of them.

The table given below is a comparison of the wages paid Japanese and white semi-skilled labor by Japanese employers in Northern California during the year 1929. The comparison is entirely adequate, as but few Japanese are employed in commercial work, and this only as semi-skilled workmen:

COMMERCIAL

Counties	Japanese	White
Alameda	$ 99.00	$100.00
Butte	85.00	100.00
Contra Costa	113.50	150.00
Colusa	116.20	110.00
Fresno	100.00	100.00
Inyo	92.35	100.00
Kings	110.00	120.00
Monterey	130.00	150.00
Napa	95.00	95.00
Placer	90.00	125.00
Stanislaus	93.00	100.00
San Joaquin	130.00	- - -
Solano	92.00	96.00
Santa Cruz	105.00	83.00
San Francisco	114.00	85.00
Santa Clara	- - -	- - -
San Mateo	95.00	87.05
San Benito	101.60	100.00
Sacramento	90.00	100.00
Tulare	85.00	- - -
Yuba	- - -	- - -
AVERAGE	$106.00	$101.91

They desire and constantly strive to secure more and more for their individual efforts. They will work on a salary only until they can lease or own land, or in some way get into business for themselves. Time is an element in their assimilation.

A society, where its control is still strong, contributes by its continual demand for economic stability to keep the individual or the marriage group within the limits of normality, however low the standard of normal living may be in a given class. The immigrant, unless he settles on land, finds himself suddenly without any definite and permanent social scheme for economic activities. His job is seldom in his old line and he can change it any time and start on something quite different. Often the work is harder and always more monotonous than what he has been used to. There is no security attached to any job; he may lose it from week to week and can only seldom base on its continuation any plans for the distant future. Japanese worked and succeeded in agriculture because they were used to it. But the law mercifully drove them away from their most congenial occupation. They have flocked to the city for domestic work. In this line, they are not competent because of their deficiency in language and partly because of their sensitive temperaments.

There was some hope for the immigrants to settle by owning lands with their savings, while they could own and lease land for agricultural purposes. But now there is no

hope for them to settle and constitute a strong, cohesive community.

The result is the lack of stability of individual life and constant shifting of the communal members. This naturally leads to personal demoralization and communal disruption. Moreover, the breakdown of economic ideals influences family life. One of the most important factors in the social and personal demoralization of the Japanese immigrants is that the young man from Japan cannot get a wife unless he goes back to Japan. If he gets a wife there, he cannot bring her to this country. This law is the most cruel and inhumance among all the exclusive laws regarding the Japanese. With a modest hope to form a family in the future men are able to work and control their passions. Being deprived of the most natural and instinctive desire they naturally lose their moral ideals as well as economic ideals.

In conditioning a person from outside, social customs, habits, and conventions are the most important factors, but in reconditioning himself from inside, his own ideals are the most fundamental..

Very recently our communities in California were alarmed by the fact that conjugal troubles have largely increased. Three reasons are given for the explanation of this undesirable phenomenon:

(1) The difference of age:

hope for them to realize and demonstrate a strong, subjective autonomy.

The result is the lack of stability of individual life and certain aspects of the communal condition. This instability leads to years of desperation and economical struggle. Moreover, the isolation of certain ideals influences family life. One of the most important factors in the social and economical degeneration of the Japanese individuals is that the young men from their place should get a wife during to go back to Japan. If he gets a wife here, he should bring her to this country. This is the most great and necessary among all the auxiliary laws regarding the Japanese. Now a method came in form a family in the future men can get wife and develop their families. Being born and of the mixed cultural and individuality their [illegible] from their social ideals as well as a common limits.

In analyzing a person from outside, social position, habits, and conversation are the most important factors, but in reconsidering from all from inside, his own life is the most fundamental.

They reasonly our communities in California were strongly by the laws that confined Japanese here largely interested. There reasons are given for the realization of this conditions phenomenon:

(1) The difference of age:

A considerable percentage of the Japanese married women are the so-called picture brides who married in teens or early in their twenties when their husbands were thirty or near forty. They did not know each other, but the glory of America attracted the young girls. After five or ten years, however, they began to realize a monotonous life with their illiterate husbands, without any success and moreover, with some physical unadjustability. Therefore, ninety-nine per cent of the conjugal trouble is started by women. This may be called "the revolt of the picture bride."

(2) Unmarried young group:

Half of the Japanese immigrants are unmarried and have no chance to get a wife from Japan. The older girls born here usually do not like the Japanese-born boys because of the cultural difference such as language, and life philosophy. They are not aggressive as were the earlier immigrants, because there is no hope of making a home on settled land. They spend their earnings on automobiles or costumes. They look fine and sporty. These "spoiled" young men are the temptation of the revolting wives. We always find such a man behind the woman in the conjugal troubles.

(3) The general tendency in America:

It cannot be denied that the general tendency in this country, especially in the West, presents a pretty good rationalization to these demoralized folk. This is a natural result of their presumption that everything in America is superior and good, thus justifying their immoral actions.

The Japanese are in general supposed to be a most law-abiding people in California. When I visited the police station of Los Angeles, (and the greatest center of Japanese immigrants in the state of California), I was told by the chief officer that very few cases of crime were reported

to the police, and they were almost entirely minor cases. There were about 30,000 Japanese people in Los Angeles County in 1925--1926, and the record of the "Annual Report of the Police Department, gives the following cases of crimes by Japanese:

Crimes against:

The person	5
Chastity and family	11
Public decency and good morals	274
Public health	100
Administration of government	5
Property	5
Miscellaneous	13
Total	410

As the above table shows, most of the crimes are classified under "public decency and good morals" and "public health." In the former are included drinking, gambling, etc. In the latter are included "Wright Act sale or transportation." This fact indicates that ninety per cent of the crimes committed by the Japanese are related to intoxicating liquor and gambling, although the latter does not reach so high a percentage as the former because of the policy of the police. It is an undesirable fact among us that a club house is devoted to gambling. Every night the table carries very large sums. The doors are strictly guarded and yet, it has never been raided. The Japanese who have been arrested for gambling, etc., have usually been caught in raids in China-

town. "Protection" for the gambling house came from sources that can easily be guessed.

However, these facts of gambling and drinking are closely related to the social maladjustment. Those who are frustrated in wishes and desires in social and economic life find relief through the cheap momentary pleasures, or try to compensate for life long idleness in the hope of one night's winnings.

Thus considering the demoralizing conditions of the Japanese immigrants in California, I have to conclude that if they are to develop a happier life in California, they should be given two privileges at least--land ownership for agriculture, and the right to live with their wives. This is the only method which can check demoralization, make the immigrants valuable and culturally productive members of American society, and imperceptibly, without violence, lead to their real Americanization. "Americanization is the process, then, of guaranteeing these fundamental requisites to each man, native and foreign-born alike, and just in proportion as the English language and citizenship interpret these requisites, they are Americanization agencies."[1]

As to the future social status of the native-born Japanese in California, I have rather an optimistic opinion, although it is a very difficult matter to forecast the future with such an inadequate study of the Japanese situation in California.

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1. Davies, Immigration and Americanization.

One of the most important facts in understand the real situation of the native-born Japanese is that they are almost estranged from the first generation, because of the cultural difference (language and life philosophy which they acquire from American teachers and friends at school). In order to fill up the gap, between the first and the second generation, the Japanese language schools were established. But the teachers of the language schools were established. But the teachers of the language schools are not competent, and moreover, the school hour is too short to inculcate Japanese culture in the second generation. Thus the native young generation is estranged from the first generation and from their communal life on one hand, and they are also estranged from the American society on the other because of the racial difference.

They naturally gather together to form their own society. They hate interference from the first generation. They have a special talent in keeping their social clubs or organizations in a successful way. They are very responsible and loyal to the constitutions of their organizations. They are much superior to their parents in their sociability. As individuals they are still further individualized than the first generation. Their adherence to the American culture is so strong that in their zeal to show their appreciation of Americanism, they often despise and exclude

everything Japanese. So it is natural that the housing conditions and wearing apparel of the first generation of Japanese people have improved considerably in proportion to the second generation. In the near future, the living conditions will become as good as those of an average American.

Their loyalty to America is expressed on many occasions. They appreciate the benefits which they and their parents receive in this country. There are several organizations in San Francisco and Los Angeles to promote loyalty to America among the second generation organized not by the first generation, nor by the Americanization agent, but their own will.

The future of the second generation, therefore, mostly depends not upon cultural factors, which is the chief cause of the unhappiness of the first generation, but rather upon industrial ability. The man of the first generation was the competent farmer. He could succeed in that line. But the second generation is not accustomed to farming, so they naturally try to find jobs in the cities. Here they cannot compete with the whites because of racial prejudices, even though they may be just as talented and skilful in the same line of work as the whites.

Their recent tendency is to become landowners instead of farmers. As they are American citizens they can buy and lease land for any purpose without any legal limitations. The fund is of course supplied by their parents. The parents

everything [illegible]. So it is [illegible] that the non-[illegible] conditions and working experts at the first generation of [illegible] have learned [illegible] to [illegible] to the [illegible] generation. In the near future, the [illegible] will [illegible] to [illegible] in [illegible] of an average [illegible].

Their loyalty to [illegible] is [illegible] as many [illegible]. They [illegible] the [illegible] with [illegible] and their [illegible] [illegible] in this [illegible]. There are several [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] loyalty in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

The [illegible] of the second generation, therefore, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], which is [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the first [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] of the first [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. But the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and some other Japanese farm laborers work on the land owned by their sons or daughters. According to the investigation made by the Japanese Consulate at Los Angeles in 1927, the farming acreage under the control of the Japanese people has increased nearly twice as much since the Land Law of 1920.

In spite of this growing tendency, we cannot conclude that this is due to the skill and intelligence of the second generation themselves. Rather it is due to their parents' success. Therefore, the future economic success of the second generation cannot be judged at present. They are still too young. Yet the ability which they have shown in public schools, high schools and colleges, convinces us that they will become very productive American citizens, and will contribute to the solution of racial problems.

The solution of the problem whether the racial factor is less important and fundamental to the national and international peace of the world and its progress than the cultural factors depends upon educational achievements in the future, by which tolerance and mutual understanding among races may be promoted, and through increases in the maximum toleration of variety in relatively homogeneous groups, so that they may be saved from stagnation and degradation because of too much homogeneity.

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